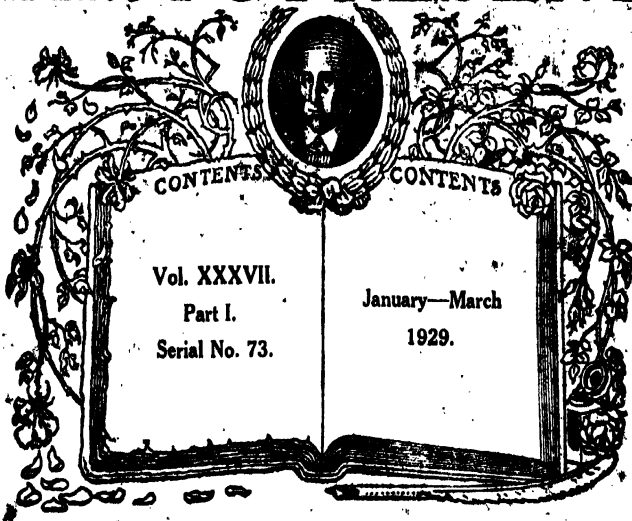


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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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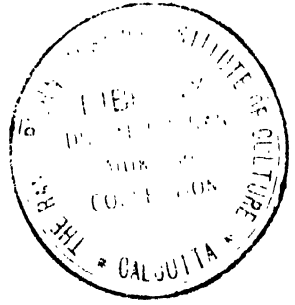
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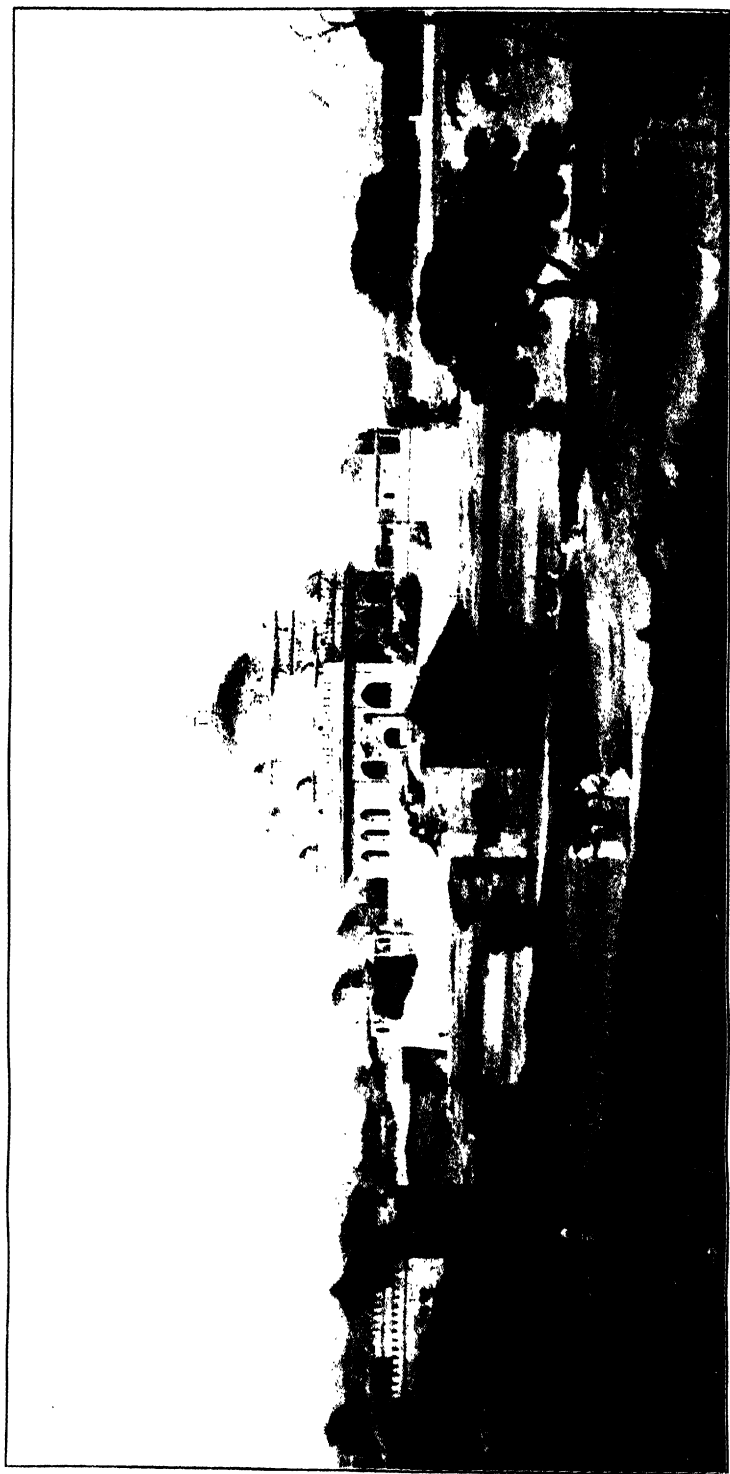
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| I. THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHER SHAH AT SASARAM | 1 |

* These papers were read at the Eleventh Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Nagpur, 1928.





THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHER SHAH AT SASARAM.

Painted by Thomas Daniell in 1810 and Exhibited at the Royal Academy in that year. Photographed by Major T. Sutton from the Picture in the Hampden Turner Collection, now in the possession of the Nanarajadhira) Bahadur of Burdwan.

The Daniells in India.

THE recent purchase by the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan of twenty-three hitherto unrecorded oil paintings of Indian scenery by Thomas Daniell, R.A., from the collection of the late Mr. Charles Hampden Turner and his presentation of two of the finest to the Victoria Memorial Hall should revive interest in the travels of this artist and his nephew William in India from 1785 to 1795. As the number of *Bengal: Past & Present* (Vol. XXV, Part I, January-March, 1923) in which I recorded such information as I then possessed, is out of print and difficult to procure, I propose (in anticipation of a book which I am preparing in conjunction with Major Thomas Sutton) briefly to summarize its contents and to add such details as have come subsequently to my knowledge from official records and other sources.

Sir William Foster has ascertained (1) from the Court Minutes of the East India Company that on December 1, 1784, permission was given to Thomas Daniell "to proceed to Bengal to follow his profession of an engraver": that on the 10th of the same month his request to be allowed to take his nephew with him "as his assistant" was granted: and finally that on February 23, 1785, Robert Smirke of Upper Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place, and Edmund Hægue of Queen Anne Street East were approved as his securities. In what ship did they sail? According to the letter press in the *Oriental Annual* of 1834 which is obviously based upon notes supplied by William Daniell the passage was made to Madras in the *Atlas* Indiaman. This is corroborated by an entry in the list of residents in Bengal which is given in the *East India Kalendar* for 1791. Both Thomas and William Daniell are described therein as engravers and are stated to have come out in the *Atlas* in 1786. Now the *Atlas* Indiaman (763 tons) sailed from the Downs on April 7, 1785, under the command of Captain Allen Cooper, but she was bound, not for Madras or Bengal, but for China. Her log for that voyage contains no list of passengers, and it cannot be said definitely that the Daniells were on board. But no other voyage of the *Atlas* will fit in with the dates which are fixed by the Court Minutes. The previous voyage was made, it is true, to the "Coast and Bay," but it was begun from Portsmouth on March 11, 1783; and a subsequent voyage to Bengal and back took place in 1787-1788, when we know that Thomas Daniell was in Calcutta and engaged in the publication of his twelve views. There seems little doubt that Daniell and his nephew went out to Canton in the first instance and that the sketches which they then made were afterwards utilized for *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way to China* (1810)—a title which

(1) *Bengal: Past & Present*: Vol. XXIX, p. 5.

tells its own tale. The *Atlas* arrived at Whampoa on August 23, 1785, and sailed for England direct in January 1786. The Daniells must therefore have come from Canton to Bengal in a country ship: and we may assume that they reached Calcutta in the autumn of 1785 or the spring of 1786.

The Twelve Views of Calcutta, which were published in aquatint between the years 1786 and 1788 are the earliest works of Thomas Daniell in India. Three of these are dated 1786, four are of 1787 and the remaining five of 1788. In a letter written to Ozias Humphry on November 7, 1788, and preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy, he writes (2):

The Lord be praised. At length I have completed my 12 views of Calcutta. The fatigue I have experienced in this undertaking has almost worn me out. [I] am advised to make a trip up the country with flattering assurances that my health would be improved by it. I am now very near Patna in a good strong roomy Pinnace where I can paint or draw quite comfortably. . . By Mr. Begby of the William Pitt Indiaman I send you the Calcutta views which you promised to do me the honour of accepting. It will appear a very poor performance in your land, I fear. *You must look upon it as a *Bengalee* work. You know I was obliged to stand Painter, Engraver, Copper Smith, Printer and printers Devil myself. [It] was a devilish undertaking, but I was determined to get through it at all events.

Particulars of this "trip up the country" are to be found in a letter written by William Daniell to his mother from "Baghullpoor" on June 30, 1790, and in another letter in the Humphry Correspondence which has only very lately come to my notice. The former letter was copied in pencil in to a note book by Joseph Farington, R.A., the diarist, and a transcription which I was permitted to make by the courtesy of the Editor of the *Morning Post*, was published in *Bengal: Past & Present* in 1923 (Vol. XXV. pp. 13-17). The second letter was written to Humphry from "Futty Ghur" on August 1, 1789, by Captain Jonathan Wood: and from it we obtained the names of those in whose company the Daniells visited Agra, Delhi and Muttra. The party which included the veteran General John Carnac and Colonel Horton Brisco was escorted by two companies of Sepoys and a small body of horse: William Daniell tells his mother that it was composed of 15 Europeans "whose attendants and camp followers amounted to near 3,000." At Agra they met with Major William Palmer, who was then Resident with Madhoji Rao Scindia, and who accompanied them to Muttra, where Scindia was in camp. "Mr. Daniell from recollection only made a portrait of him which was thought like": This picture has not been traced except in the form of an engraving by William Daniell which is reproduced in the

(2) The whole of this letter together with other "Letters from Bengal" to Humphry, will be found in Vol. XXXV, Part II of *Bengal: Past & Present* (April-June 1928). Ozias Humphry arrived at Calcutta in the *Francis* Indiaman in August 1785 and sailed from Kedgeree for Europe in the *Fort of Oxford* on March 14, 1787.

Oriental Annual for 1834 (3). The story there related is as follows: "Mr. Daniell shortly after his arrival in India, and not long before the death of the old warrior, had the honour of an interview during which he was also honoured with an oriental embrace; availing himself of the opportunity he made an admirable likeness of this remarkable man." From Muttra the party proceeded to Delhi, "when Palmer and Brisco paid their obeisance to Shaw Alum attended with the customary presents on these occasions; this amounted to some 30,000 rupees." The sketches made at Agra, Sikandra, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi, were all incorporated later on in *Oriental Scenery*. The next halting place after Delhi was Anupshahr: and from here Thomas Daniell and his nephew set off with another party "consisting of 5 or 6 gentlemen with a proper escort" and visited Hardwar. Here two only of Daniell's companions went with them into Garhwal: one of these we know from Vol. XI of *Asiatick Researches* (Hindoostanee Press, Calcutta 1810: p. 435) to have been Captain John Guthrie who described himself in his will as "a Peer of the Mogul Empire" and who died at Fatehgarh in 1803 of wounds received in an unsuccessful attack on Thathia Fort. From Srinagar in Garhwal, the Daniells according to Capt. Wood, visited "Rampour and Phillibeat and returned to Futty Ghur by way of Bareilly." Their arrival at Fatehgarh is announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 9, 1789, which publishes an "extract from a letter from Futty Ghur, June 8"; and from an album of sketches which is preserved at the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, we are able to obtain ample evidence of the leisurely manner in which they travelled from place to place in Rohilkhand. From Fatehgarh Captain Wood tells us that they set out for Lucknow: and were proposing to return to the Presidency by way of Fyzabad, Benares, Chunar, Bidzyghur (Bijaigarh) and Rhotasgarh. To these places, which all find a niche in *Oriental Scenery*, must be added Jaunpur; unlike the modern traveller, the Daniells were greatly attracted by the magnificent Shargi mosques: and also Gaya and Sasaram. The return to the Presidency was not, however, made all at once. William Daniell's letter to his mother, while giving no hint of future movements leaves him and his uncle at Bhagalpur on June 30, 1790. Here they "resided twelve months in the same House with" Samuel Davis, as related in the *Farington Diary* (entry of February 12, 1806). Davis, who was himself an accomplished artist, had been appointed by Hastings to a writership in 1783, on his return from Turner's mission to Bhutan (4) and was "Assistant to the Collector and Register to the Court of Adawlut, Boglepore" from 1785 to 1792. In May 1793, he was at Burdwan as Collector; and

(3) The portrait of Madhoji Rao Scindia, which is in the Town Hall at Bombay, is by James Wales, who died at Thana in 1795. The picture which Sir James Mackintosh saw at Poona in 1805 and which he attributed to Zoffany, is believed to be the one now at Gwalior which is evidently an adaptation by an Indian artist of the painting by Wales. Madhoji died suddenly in 1794 at Wanouri near Poona.

(4) The Bhutan illustrations in Turner's "Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet" (published in 1800) are by Davis. The original drawings, nineteen in number, are now at the Victoria Memorial Hall, together with many of his water colour sketches of other places.

there married Henrietta Boileau. Two years later, in July 1795, he was appointed Judge and Magistrate of Benares, and gallantly defended the narrow stairways of his residence, Nandeswar House, with a running footman's pike, when it was attacked after the murder of George Frederick Cherry, the Resident (5) on January 4, 1799, by the followers of Wazir Ali. Thereafter he was transferred to Calcutta where he became Accountant General, and after his retirement from India in 1806, was a Director of the Company from 1810 until his death in 1819 (6).

When the Daniells eventually returned to Calcutta they did remain very long. The six aquatints of Calcutta in the second series of *Oriental Scenery* are dated 1792: but they must be referred to the early part of that year for it is stated distinctly in the letter press that the views of Trichinopoly, Madura and Tanjore, which are in the same series were "taken" in June, July and September, 1792, and that the six Madras views were made in 1793. In the fourth series we have a further seven views of scenes in the Madras Presidency which were taken in July and August 1792. From a letter in the Humphry Correspondence, which was written to Ozias Humphry from Calcutta on November 23, 1793, by William Baillie (himself the author of twelve views of Calcutta, a plan of the city and views of Gaur) we learn that:

Mr. Thomas Daniell after a three years excursion in which he went up to Sirinagar in the Bootan (sic) hills and visited Delhi Agra etc. returned to Calcutta 20 months ago [i.e. in the spring of 1792] with a collection of about 150 pictures which he set on foot a Lottery for. It has not quite filled, however; those that fell to himself as prizes he carried to Madras where he disposed of them and some others. He made an excursion thro' the Mysore country etc. and came back, no doubt, with a vast collection. I need not say how correct and elegant. From Madras I understand he was to cross over to the Malabar Coast on to Bombay and from that home by way of Egypt or Bussara.

These intentions were only partially carried out. The sketches of Muscat which are published in the *Oriental Annual* for 1836 and which form the subject of several pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy by both the uncle and the nephew, show clearly enough that they reached that place. But in the summer of 1793 they hurried back to Bombay with the first official news of the outbreak of war with France. The date is fixed by the following entry in the Bombay Proceedings of January 13, 1794 (I. O. 218-223: Call. No 12).

(5) Another artist civilian. He was Lord Cornwallis' Persian Secretary at one time and when on a mission to Seringapatam in 1792, painted portraits of Tipu Sultan of which one is at the India Office and another in the Duke of Wellington's collection at Apsley House.

(6) The famous pike was kept in a corner of the drawing room of the house in Portland Place where his widow resided after his death. Montstuart Elphinstone who was a young assistant at Benares in 1799 used to come at least once a year to "do poojah" to it; and my uncle the late Mr. J. S. Cotton (born 1848) used to relate that he was taken as a child on the same pilgrimage.

On 7 July last received packets from Resident and Factors at Bussorah by Major Macdonald in *Cornwall* Ketch from Muscat containing duplicate of Court's command dated February 7 and 9, which gave us the first official accounts of the war with France. Resident and Factors sent the packet to the broker at Muscat with orders to offer Rs. 10,000 to any one who would carry it to Bombay. The original letter they sent by *Laurel* to Bombay where it arrived July 23.

The Bombay Council paid the ten thousand rupees to Major Macdonald and Rs. 25,000 to the owners of the *Laurel*: and these allowances were approved in a despatch of April 28, 1795 from the Court. The connecting link with the Daniells is supplied by a passage in the Court Minutes of March 6, 1799.

The request of Mr. Thos. Daniell for a copy of the resolution of the Bombay Government authorizing the payment of 10,000 rupees for a service performed by him jointly with Major Forbes Ross Macdonald in carrying from Muskat to Bombay in June 1793 a packet which proved to contain advice of the war with France, and which sum was received by Major Macdonald who has never paid Mr. Daniell any part thereof: Being read; Referred to the Committee of Correspondence.

There is no report from the Committee on the Minutes, but on March 13, 1799, the desired extract from the Bombay Proceedings is sent to Daniell with a formal note in the third person (7). As no further entry can be traced in the Court Minutes up to April 1801, it is to be presumed that the Directors heard nothing more of the matter.

While at Bombay the Daniells collaborated with James Wales in making the sketches of "Hindoo Excavations in the Mountains of Ellora near Aurangabad in the Deccan" which were subsequently published in 1804 as the fifth series of *Oriental Scenery*. In the sixth series which was published in 1799 there are six sketches of "excavations on the island of Salsette and Elephanta"; and in the letter press to No. 7 which represents "The entrance to the Elephanta cave," the following definite statement is made: "According to the measurement of Mr. William Daniell, the author's nephew, who accompanied him on all his excursions in India, its dimensions are 130 feet in length, 110 in breadth and 16 in height."

The Daniells would appear to have sailed from Bombay some time in the year 1794. Their names cannot be traced in any of the logs of the homeward bound Indiamen of that season: but some light is thrown upon the circumstances of their voyage by a little quarto book in a yellow wrapper, which has been discovered in the Brighton Public Library. It is entitled "Sketches of a Voyage by W. Daniell, R.A.," and the first sketch

(7) I am indebted to Sir William Foster for calling my attention to these papers. Daniell's letter which is dated January 22, 1799, is among the records at the India Office (Misc. Lets. Recd. Vol. 100).

which is of "A Sixty Four" is signed "W. D. Lion Hill, 3 July 1794." Lion Hill is the well known mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, and there can be little doubt that this sketch and the next one, "Spanish East Indiamen (Spaniard Lat. 18.18, long, 32.12, W.)" were drawn on the voyage to Europe. It can be ascertained from Aeneas Anderson's Narrative of the British Embassy to China (1795) that Lord Macartney, who sailed in H. M. S. *Lion*, was accompanied on his way home from Macao by thirteen East Indiamen and three foreign vessels. The *King Charles*, a Spaniard, the *Bom Jesus*, Portugese and the *General Washington* American. The fleet anchored at St. Helena on June 19, 1794, and sailed on July 1.

In any case, the Daniells had certainly returned to London by the autumn of 1794. Ozias Humphry, in a letter written to Baillie in Calcutta in October 1794 reports their arrival and the first series of their monumental work—the beautiful aquatints of *Oriental Scenery*—was published in London on March 1, 1795.

Five other series followed, each containing twenty four views: and nothing can better illustrate the wide range of their travels in India than a recapitulation of the contents.

Although the first series was published in March, it was not until October 22, 1795, that the *Calcutta Gazette* printed "Proposals for publishing the following twenty four views in Hindoostan from the drawings of Thomas Daniell and engraved by himself." The places depicted are Delhi, Brindaban (Muttra), Agra, Patna, Benares, Chunar, Gaur, Rhotasgarh, Moneah (Maner) on the river Son near Patna, Gaya, Agouree (Agori Khas), which lies about fifteen miles to the westward of the fortress of Bijaigarh, and Currah (Kara) near Allahabad which was once of sufficient importance to give its name, with another forgotten town, Corah (Kora) in the Fatehpur district, to the provinces of "Corah and Currah." The views are said to have been taken in the years 1789 and 1790." The advertisement proceeds: "If subscribed for and delivered in India, the price for the 24 views will be 200 sicca rupees Half the subscription is to be paid upon delivery of the first twelve views which will certainly be sent out to India by the earliest ships of the season 1796." The second series "drawn by Thomas Daniell and engraved by him and William Daniell" was published in London in August, 1797. There are six views of Calcutta (1792), four of Trichinopoly (June 1792), six of Madura (July 1792), two of Tanjore (September, 1792) and six of Madras (1793).

The next series in chronological order of publication, is the sixth which bears the imprint "London, October 15, 1799," and is styled "Antiquities of India." Twelve (sic) views from the drawings of Thomas Daniell, R.A. and F.S.A., engraved by himself and William Daniell. Taken in the year 1790 and 1793." The sketches are, in fact, twenty four in number and are of a miscellaneous character, beginning with the seven Pagodas at Mauvelepore (Mamallapuram or Mahabalipuram) and the temples on the island of Salsette. Other sketches represent a temple at Deo in Bihar, the Elephant cave, the Fakir's Rock in the Ganges near Sultanganj, Chainpur in

Bihar, an antique reservoir near Colar (Kolar) in Mysore, a temple near Madanpur (80 miles S. W. from Patna), a temple near Bangalore, Raja Jai Singh's observatory at Delhi, the ruins of Gaur, and the Kutab Minar at Delhi.

The third series "drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell" was published in London in June 1801. It contains sketches taken at Currah (Kara), Rhotasgarh, Fyzabad, Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi, Kanauj, Jaunpur, Pilibhit, Gaya, Ramnagar (opposite Benares), Muttra, Chunar, and Rajmahal. Some of them are specifically stated to have been drawn in 1790. Sandwiched in between them are views of Tipu's "hill forts in the Baramahal" in the Mysore country.

The fifth series was published in London on June 1, 1804, and is inscribed: "Hindoo Excavations in the Mountains of Ellora near Aurangabad in the Deccan. Engraved from the drawings of James Wales by and under the direction of Thomas Daniell."

It is dedicated to Sir Charles Warre Malet, Bart., late the British Resident at Poona, who married the daughter of Wales.

The fourth series, "Twenty-Four Landscapes-Views in Hindoostan, drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell"; was published in London in May 1807. It is in this volume that the twelve Garhwal sketches are to be found. There is a direct reference to them in the introduction but the concluding sentence is misleading: "the drawings," it is said, "from which these views are engraved were taken in the months of July and August 1792": but the Daniells were then in South India, and the year should be 1789. Seven of the other sketches relate to the Madras Presidency: of No. 6, a scene "near Attoor in the Dindigul district," we are assured that the place is inhabited by "a class of creatures whose shaggy forms and ferocious aspect appear sufficient to strike terror in the hearts even of lions and tigers." The other five sketches represent a view near Bandel, showing a *Sati* memorial: Sakrigali on the Ganges: Ramgur (or Rampur) in the district of Benares: Dhuah Koondee, a cataract in the neighbourhood of Sassaram: and Kanauj.

An even greater variety of subjects is exhibited in the engravings by William Daniell which are to be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838. These include Gingec, the Mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram, Calcutta from the Garden Reach, the Harbour of Muscat, the Forts of Jellali and Marani at Muscat, a view on the Baliapatam river (Coorg), a scene near the coast of Malabar, Bombay, a Bore rushing up the Hugli, the setting in of the Monsoon at Madras, and a number of views of Bhutan. As to the last it is stated that the views are taken from sketches made by the late Mr. Samuel Davis "who visited Boutan in 1783." There are also portraits of Mahdaji Scindia, the Queen of Candy, the Emperors Akbar and Humayun, a Malabar Hindu, and "a Female Peasant of Ceylon."

Election as an Associate of the Royal Academy came to Thomas Daniell in 1796, and he was advanced to full Academical honours in 1799. His

diploma picture represents "Hindu Temples at Bindrabund," and a reproduction of it in aquatint figures as sketch No. 2 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*. His output of Indian pictures was enormous: and his market never seemed to fail him; for he ceased to paint in 1828, and lived in retirement until his death in 1840 at the patriarchal age of ninety-one. William Daniell, who was elected a Royal Academician in 1823 and died in 1837, was equally prolific. The list of the Academy exhibits of uncle and nephew fills many pages in Algernon Grave's compilation: and yet the appearance of an oil painting by either of the Daniells in a London sale-room is the rarest possible occurrence. The largest collections are at the Victoria Memorial Hall and in the possession of the Maharaja of Burdwan.

The merits of *Oriental Scenery* are fully recognized to-day: and Farington shows by the following entry in his Diary that contemporary appreciation was not wanting: "April 19, 1804.—Smirke [R.A.] informed me that Daniell has had an order from abroad for 18 sets of his India Views, which would amount to above £2,000." The copy in the Royal Academy Library was purchased on August 1, 1805 by unanimous vote, on the proposition of Farington himself. When Claude Martin's effects were advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* during 1801, they were stated to include "a complete set of Daniell's views in India." Robert Pott, the "Bob Pott" of Hickeys Memoirs, and Peter Speke, who was a member of the Bengal Council from 1787 to 1801 and "spent forty years at the Presidency" were among his many Anglo-Indian patrons.

As aquatints, the views in *Oriental Scenery* cannot be surpassed: and as an instance of Daniell's accuracy in delineation, it may be mentioned that when the Temple in the Fort of Rhotas was restored under the orders of the Government of Bengal, Daniell's view of it was used as a model. So true is it that history is as much made up of pictures and engravings as it is of documents.

A glowing tribute to the work of Daniell was paid in an extract from the *Calcutta Monthly Magazine* which was quoted in W. Thacker and Co.'s Monthly Overland Circular for August 20, 1846 (8), when offering a "superb copy" of *Oriental Scenery* for sale at Rs. 1,000:

The execution of these drawings is indeed masterly; there is every reason to confide in the fidelity of the representations; and the effect produced by this rich and splendid display of oriental scenery is truly striking. In looking at it, one may almost feel the warmth of an Indian sky, the water seems to be in actual motion and the animals, trees and plants are studies for the naturalist.

The praise is not too high. The student of eighteenth century India owes a great debt to Thomas and William Daniell.

EVAN COTTON.

(8) I am indebted to Mr C. A. Hooper of Messrs. Thacker, Sprink & Co., for a sight of this interesting volume.

The Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, 1852-1856.

IN April 1852 a British army landed at the Burmese port of Rangoon, and there began the second of the series of three Anglo-Burmese wars which together added to the Indian Empire its largest, and certainly its unique, province. The first war, ending with the treaty of Yandabo in 1826, had resulted in the Kingdom of Ava losing to Great Britain the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim—nearly all its sea frontage. The second war, which lasted only a few months, gave the British the Burmese province of Pegu—once a Talaing kingdom—and a strip of territory to the north of it extending to just beyond the towns of Myede and Toungoo. This new acquisition, called at the outset the 'Province of Pegu,' although it stretched far beyond the limits of the Burmese province of that name, received as its first administrator Captain Arthur Phayre. This officer, the future historian of Burma (1), was selected by Lord Dalhousie with unerring judgment against the claims of a much senior officer to be the first Commissioner of Pegu. He arrived at Rangoon in December, 1852, before the war had officially ended, and so was entrusted, as Governor-General's Agent, with the task of carrying through the negotiations for peace with the Burmese Government. Phayre was of not undistinguished parentage. His father had spent his active career in India. His mother was a daughter of the well-known publisher Ridgeway, a woman of great talents, we are told (2), "who instilled into the minds of her children a strong devotion to duty and religion." He was forty years old at the time of his appointment, and had already seen much administrative service in Burma, where he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the language and national character as marked him for high preferment.

It was Dalhousie's custom to keep in very close touch with his immediate subordinates; this was all the more necessary in Phayre's case because of the difficult and protracted negotiations for a peace treaty with the Burmese Government which continued until almost the end of Dalhousie's term of office in India. "I hope to hear from you regularly and confidentially," he wrote to the new Commissioner in one of his earliest letters (3). "You will find such correspondence a material aid to you; and I beg you to state your views and wishes to me at all times unreservedly." Phayre availed himself

(1) His *History of Burma*, a work of great merit, published in 1883 was for many years the standard work in English on this subject. It is now out of print and practically unobtainable.

(2) Sir William Lee-Warner: *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, II, p. 7.

(3) Dated Calcutta, 8th December, 1852.

of this invitation to the full. The words with which he concluded his lengthy reply to this letter sounded the keynote of the correspondence that was to follow. "I trust this letter will not have been too tedious, but I shall continue to write of everything which I consider worthy of your Lordship's notice" (4). So there grew up between them what Lord Dalhousie termed a 'private' correspondence, but what would nowadays be more correctly designated 'demi-official,' maintained with great regularity until the Governor-General's departure from India in 1856. Much of it is of the nature of a personal explanation of items in the official correspondence passing between the two. There is a good deal of free expression of opinion such as would not find its way into official correspondence. These letters therefore are of especial interest in giving us an unobstructed view of the personality and policy of Lord Dalhousie, and they shed valuable light upon the relations between him as Governor-General and the administrator of a new province: a subject of no little importance to the study of modern Indian administrative history.

Lord Dalhousie's letter to Phayre form a series eighty-two in number, the originals of which are now in the possession of the University of Rangoon. They were purchased together with Phayre's two-volume journal covering the years 1852-1859 from Messrs. Heffer of Cambridge. Previously they belonged to the late Sir George Forrest, who published articles containing extracts from them in the *Athenaeum*, 23rd November, 1895 and 15th February, 1896. He had bought the collection from a second-hand book-seller on the Quay at Dublin, who in turn had purchased it at an auction some years before (5)—presumably an auction of Phayre's effects after his death, but I have not yet been able to verify this.

Phayre's replies to Lord Dalhousie are in the famous collection of the latter's private papers, which he arranged and indexed personally before his death, and which is still a family possession. It will be remembered that in a codicil to his will he forbade the publication of any of his private papers until fifty years after his death. That period terminated eighteen years ago. So by kind permission of the present Earl of Dalhousie the History department of the University of Rangoon has been able to have Phayre's letters in this collection copied—the work has been done by Miss Anstey at the India Office (6)—and now we are in a position to publish the whole Dalhousie-Phayre correspondence, so soon as the work of editing has been completed (7).

One extremely interesting feature of Phayre's letters is that enclosed with them is a series of letters received by him from a Scottish merchant,

(4) Dated Rangoon, 25th December, 1852.

(5) I am indebted to Sir William Foster of the India Office for this information.

(6) This was arranged through the courtesy of Sir William Foster and Mr. Ottewill.

(7) The correspondence and journal were made use of by Sir William Lee-Wanner in writing Chapter I of Volume II of his *Life of Lord Dalhousie*. But considerations of space and proportion rendered it impossible for him to do much more than indicate the richness of the soil that he scratched.

Thomas Spears by name who from December, 1853 onwards for several years was "Government Correspondent at the Court of Ava." Spears and a number of other British merchants at Amarapoora had been imprisoned and their property confiscated by Pagan Min, King of Burma, during the Second Burmese War. When early in 1853 the greedy and tyrannous Pagan was deposed by his half-brother Mindon Min, a man of high character, well-disposed towards the British, Spears and his compatriots were released, and Spears himself was soon in high favour at the Burmese Court. He became a sort of confidential adviser to Mindon Min, who was anxious to use him as a go-between in his dealings with the British.

Spears came to the notice of Phayre during the first negotiations for a treaty with Mindon Min that broke down before the middle of 1853 owing to the latter's refusal to sign a document ceding Burmese territory to a foreign power. Then, when the Burmese government withheld his confiscated property, and Spears went to Calcutta to lay his case before the Governor-General, Mindon Min made use of him to propose a quixotic plan for the solution of the treaty difficulty. It amounted to this, that the King of Burma was to agree to pay to the British within a fixed period an indemnity so enormous as to be entirely beyond his capacity to pay. If the sum were not paid within the specified time, the territory occupied by the British was to be forfeited to them. "The object as hinted or avowed in this extraordinary proposal," reported Phayre to his Chief (8), "was for the King to save his honour and to show that he had done his best to avert the disgrace of separating Pegu from the Burmese Empire."

Although Phayre considered the proposals ludicrous, he was so much impressed with the probity and good sense of Spears, when he met him on his way to Calcutta, that he recommended to Lord Dalhousie his appointment as British correspondent at the Burmese Capital. Dalhousie had indeed urged Phayre to seek for some reliable source of information, whence he could obtain "speedy, good and regular intelligence" of affairs at Amarapoora (9). This had become essential because of the anomalous situation that had arisen between the British and the Burmese government after the breakdown of negotiation, when neither side knew what move the other would make next, and all sorts of alarmist rumours were in the air. On the other hand he at first opposed the appointment of Spears in this capacity, fearing that as a British subject he "would be liable to outrage," and so might "involve this government in responsibilities" (10).

No other suitable man could be found. For a time an Armenian named Jacob was tried, but a letter of his, the composition and spelling of which were alike a triumph (11), forwarded to the Governor-General, elicited from him the laconic reply: "I hope his intelligence is more correct than

(8) Phayre to Dalhousie, July 21st 1853. In his reply, dated August 1st, 1853, Dalhousie dismissed it as 'nonsense'.

(9) Dalhousie to Phayre, June, 9th, 1853.

(10) Same to same, August, 1st, 1853.

(11) Enclosure of letter of Phayre to Dalhousie, October 28th, 1853.

his spelling or we shall not have a good bargain. I will see Mr. Spears again " (12). So in the end Spears was appointed. The position was an unofficial one, but he was paid a regular salary of Rs. 250 a month with the promise that if his work were satisfactory, he would be awarded at the end of each year of service a lump sum bringing his monthly salary for that year up to Rs. 400. (13).

Spears amply justified his appointment. He retained the full confidence of Mindon Min, whom he immediately made aware of his new position and its duties. In fact the King heartily acquiesced in the arrangement. "He has given me full liberty to write anything I like and to whom I like," wrote Spears to Phayre. (14). The only difficulties that arose due to Mindon Min's inability to realise that Spears was not an official British representative through whom he could conduct his business with the Commissioner of Pegu or the Government of India. Apparently he discussed all matters of external policy privately with Spears before making any decision; and time and again he caused the canny Scot no little embarrassment by using him as a channel for expressing his opinions or making suggestions to the British authorities (15). This went so far that the Government of India deemed it advisable to remind Phayre that Spears must not be employed in any official matter to make representations to the Government of Ava or to act in any way apparently as an agent of the British government (16). The rigidity of this rule, however, was wisely tempered in practice, since any attempt strictly to enforce it might have alienated Mindon Min by causing him to jump to the conclusion that the British attitude was stiffening against him. As it was, Spears's presence at the Burmese Court resulted in the speedy building up of friendly relations between Mindon Min and the British. As early as March 1854, indeed, Dalhousie could write home flippantly of the new situation: "There is perfect quiescence. . . . Nay, the *entente cordiale* is becoming almost ludicrous " (17). And notwithstanding the failure of all Dalhousie's efforts to secure a treaty recognising the cession of Pegu, and of all Mindon's to persuade the British to show their regard for him by evacuating it, British relations with the Court of Ava were re-established in 1854 and the ensuing period upon a more friendly footing than ever before. No small credit is due to Thomas Spears that this condition of affairs withstood the successive shocks of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, when Mindon Min's advisers assured him that the British hold upon

(12) Dalhousie to Phayre, November 5th, 1853

(13) Rangoon Secretariat File No. 6/1855.

(14) Examples of this are given in my article entitled "New Light upon British Relations with King Mindon" in the Journal of the Burma Research Society, Vol. XVIII, Part I, April, 1928.

(15) Rangoon Secretariat File, No. 6/1855, Letter of Cecil Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to Major A. P. Phayre, Commander of Pegu, dated Fort William, August 8th, 1855.

(16) J. G. A. Baird: Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie, p. 293.

(17) Two of the originals are in Rangoon Secretariat File No. 9/1854.

India was doomed, and European adventurers were urging him to make a bold bid for the recovery of the ancient heritage of his house.

From the foregoing account of Spears the inference will readily be drawn that the information purveyed by him was of first-class importance. The originals (18) or copies of all his letters were forwarded by Phayre to Lord Dalhousie as soon as they were received, and a regular system of despatch boats was established on the Irrawaddy—with the King's concurrence—for the better conduct of the correspondence. In March 1854 the Governor-General wrote home delightedly from Calcutta: "We have already so improved communications that our last letter from Umerpoora was only 19 days old" (19). He was equally delighted with the letters themselves. In the same month he wrote to Phayre: "I will come now to Mr. Spears' budget from 3rd February to 7th March. They are full of interest and importance. Their intelligence is in the highest degree satisfactory and encouraging, and we have apparently found a very safe and sensible and judicious correspondent" (20). This same praise he reiterates on several occasions in later letters. It is not surprising to find that at the end of each year of his employment Spears was adjudged worthy to receive the promised lump sum that raised his salary to Rs. 400 a month (21).

These three series of letters, together with Phayre's journal (22), afford us an absorbingly interesting picture not only of British relations with Mindon Min, but also of the way in which the foundations of modern British rule were laid in the new province of Pegu. Naturally the negotiations with the Court of Ava occupy a large place in the correspondence; but room is found for the discussion of other subjects. In their very first exchange of letters Lord Dalhousie and Phayre both devote their chief attention to the plans for laying out the city of Rangoon and for the development of its port. With almost prophetic insight into the future Lord Dalhousie writes in his clear incisive style: "One point at Rangoon is of moment the place will certainly gain importance as a port if at all. In that expectation it is of moment to provide that the river bank should be kept clear and with ample space for wharves, docks, godowns, etc., etc. Orders to that effect were issued originally. The impression I derived from a very cursory view of the bank when I was at Rangoon was that too little space had been reserved" (23). Measures for the provision of roads, riverine communications, the electric telegraph and a postal system are discussed in detail, and we witness the progress in the construction of these essential amenities of modern civilisation. Then there are such matters as the raising of a local corps, the establishment of a police force, operations against the notorious

(18) Baird, *op. cit.* p. 293.

(19) Dated Calcutta, March 29th, 1854.

(20) Rangoon Secretariat Files Nos. 6/1855, 18/1856, 11/1859 and 40/1860.

(21) This contains much interesting information sandwiched in between dull itineraries. It is the journal of a very busy man, who rarely had leisure to write up in it matters with which he had already dealt fully in his correspondence. So it has many tantalizing gaps.

(22) Dalhousie to Phayre, 8th December, 1852.

(23) Spears to Phayre, 7th March, 1854.

dacoit leaders, Myat Tun and Maung Gyi, the machinations of the mysterious French adventurer who styled himself 'General' D'Orgonix, and a host of other subjects too numerous to mention here.

We see the diplomatic Spears treading more delicately—and more successfully withal—than Agag, and the assiduous Phayre writing reports and suggesting ways and means. But the directing mind is that of Lord Dalhousie, with his amazingly clear grasp of each situation and his unhesitating choice of policy. His style is simple, direct and full of vitality. And sometimes there gleams the sparkle of a playful humour too rarely associated in our minds with the personality of the great proconsul. Let me close with a happy example of this. When in the early months of 1854 the Burmese were still haggling over the terms of the treaty that they never intended signing, Mindon Min brought up the fact that the new British boundary line passed through the district of Mindon, from which he derived his name. He begged that the boundary might be so adjusted as not to deprive him of any part of this district. In a private interview with Spears he said: "It is a district of little value and belonged personally to me when I was Prince, so I trust the English will not let so small a thing as that come between us. When I was a Prince, and now when I am a King, I have always been actuated by the most friendly spirit to the English, and it would be a poor return on their part if they would not give up so small a thing as that to oblige me" (24).

Dalhousie replied to this: "If the King thinks that 'so small a thing' as a township should not stand in the way of friendship between the states, he should not let 'so small a thing' as singing what he has already agreed to stand in the way of a permanent friendship between the states. If the King thinks that I should make this concession of Mengdon Myo to him, I have the right to expect that he should make the far smaller concession of saying in writing what he has said orally many time". . . . "Bear in mind," he concluded, "that for the King it is no song, no supper—no treaty, no Mengdon Myo."

D. G. E. HALL.

Acts of Pains and Penalties in the Past.

THE unfortunate case of Sir Thomas Turton having roused a certain amount of interest it may be pursued in its other phases that may possibly not lack in interest.

Sir Thomas was a Baronet which title he inherited from his brother. In ability and charm of manners he had few peers in his time.

As a practising Barrister of the Supreme Court his success was phenomenal and this is how Mr. William Ritchie, another legal luminary of a slightly later date and who subsequently rose to be the Advocate General and the Law Member, speaks of Sir Thomas Turton while he himself was still struggling as a junior . . . "By far the most brilliant man here is Turton, who luckily for the rest of us, has, for some months given up the Bar for the lucrative office of Registrar. He is really a man of commanding ability as well as a most agreeable companion."

It will be perceived that the objectionable but prevalent practice of backing relatives at the Bar by senior members was strongly condemned by Mr. William Ritchie by implications, though not in scathing terms. Discriminating attorneys did not fail to discover Mr. Ritchie's merits though he failed to secure Sir Thomas Turton's powerful backing. By dint of merit he rose to the surface very soon and occupied a highly honourable place in the profession.

The foundation of Sir Thomas Turton's undoing was easily laid by his accepting of the lucrative post of Ecclesiastical Registrar. He deserted his profession as he had deserted his wife and suffered condign punishment. In the previous article we saw how his misdoings though detected, could not be punished for a while but Damocles's sword which hung by a thin hair soon-found its mark. The commission that had been appointed by the Supreme Court to enquire into his conduct, though far too slow to suit Lord Dalhousie's vigour, ultimately reported and heavy defalcations were substantiated. The failure of the Union Bank and of the well known house of Palmer had hastened the catastrophe and Sir Thomas Turton was driven into insolvency. A ghastly state of affairs was disclosed, and the hand of law proved itself long enough, strong enough and willing enough. The high position of the culprit was no protection and Sir Thomas ultimately found his way to the Gaol where Lord Dalhousie's vigorous wrath and Mr. Drinkwater Bethune's ingenuity had failed to send and lodge him; and this was achieved in the usual process of ordinary law without the outside paraphernalia of a doubtful pains and penalties act.

Sir Lawrence Peel in delivering judgment in the insolvency proceedings said:—"I consider it is impossible for me, in my responsible position, to exercise that limits which my own feelings and my personal knowledge of the insolvent's misery would have induced me to prefer. It is indeed evident

from the open manner in which Sir Thomas Turton's accounts were kept, that he had entertained the design of replacing the monies he had removed, but these circumstances do not in any degree lessen the culpability of the transaction. It is as great a transgression for a person placed in a situation of fiduciary responsibility to expose the trusts in his hands to risk, as to abstract them, and I feel the demands of justice will not be satisfied unless I remand the insolvent for two years, or, in other words condemn him to two years imprisonment."

Sir Thomas found himself an inmate of the Calcutta jail but did not seem to have suffered much thereby. Contemporary records, for access to which I am indebted to Mr. Prionath Kor, late of the Bengal Secretariat: Ministerial Department, a diligent and careful preserver of reminiscences, (grandson of the late Babu Ramgopal Ghose) thus describe Sir Thomas Turton's comforts nay luxuries in jail: "Sir Thomas Turton was in Calcutta jail as a prisoner where he was comfortably accommodated in a house in the jail compound which he secured at a rent of one hundred rupees a month, commanding the view of the maidan. Here he received visits from his friends and calls from his clients in large number doing daily chamber business in cash payment. He had the advantage of enjoying the benefit of a clean extensive area and of a large terrace for exercise. He had also the advantage of enjoying the melodious sound of a beautiful piano to sooth his solitude.

"In jail he had few restrictions like other prisoners of his position. The only restriction that was imposed on him was that he could not have his ride in the evening on the strand or come out of the walls of the jail compound."

Dissipation in jail was fairly frequent in those spacious days as will be borne out by the following extracts from Mr. Moore's charming collection of papers in the Sheriff's office.

"The jail was merely a prison in the sense that they were confined to its spacious quarters and surroundings. Beyond this, they lived as they pleased, were waited upon by their own servants, had their food supplied by the local hotels and on occasions entertained their friends with the best wine and the best music that the city could afford. Those who had families were free to bring them to share their imprisonment. No restraint whatever was placed on a debtor's relatives or connections; they came and went as they pleased, and that nothing might be wanting to complete the entire freedom of the debtor, his mistress was as free to share his captivity and his love as the wife or the daughter of his neighbours. There was no pretence and no disguise about the matter; the thing was open and usual.

"I do not know if a man's domestic pets also followed him to the Hurrin Barea, but certainly his horse did, if its master so desired. The Sheriff "could see nothing opposed to the Jail rules," such as they were, in permitting Captain Stewart's pony being brought to him at the Jail, morning and evening, that the gallant Captain might take as much exercise as he deemed was necessary for the preservation of his health. Skipping ropes

"were also in evidence as a means by which the debtors might be kept healthy. Nor were they the whim of the debtors themselves. They were gravely prescribed by a doctor who rejoiced in the designation of a Presidency Surgeon. He was evidently a man ahead of his time.

"But the feature which is most in evidence throughout the whole Jail record is the eternal flow of brandy. One is apt to associate temperance of all kinds with prisoners today. But in 1800 the prison reformer was a person yet to be. Man relying on his instincts and experience only, as he had been doing for thousands of years, cherished the absurd delusion that brandy was something which was both good and necessary for his health and for his welfare. The chemist and the specialist had not yet shown him what dangers lurked within its deceitful brilliance, and so the European in India drank it with the old zest and carried his love for it to the Hurrin Barec. Here he might buy and drink it to the extent of his means and the capacity of his head and his stomach.

"Like the autocrat that he was, he ordered it with the munificence of a king and was pleased to see it stored in his room to sooth the hours of his mild captivity, not merely in bottles, but in cases. It has often been alleged, perhaps with some truth, that the action of alcohol on the human brain will at once differentiate the savage and the philosopher. On the former it will expose the wild beast that lurks within, in the latter it will bring to the surface those latent qualities of kindness and generosity which are the crown and the end of human culture. Judged by this test, the inmates of the Calcutta Jail must be assigned a high place in the ranks of culture and philosophy.

"Apart from setting fire to the Jail or killing a fellow-debtor, there was no restraint, and although the former of these contingencies did almost arise, it was not till 1855 that it did so, when I think your Captain was no longer the poet and the philosopher of 1800."

The style of Sir Thomas Turton's life in jail did not however escape criticism and we find the *Bengal Reader* indulging in the following rightful criticism:—"Criminal laws are in the same here as elsewhere. Although there are statutes as respect embezzlement, the first and more lenient one being applicable to Europeans and the last and the draconian one to natives and East Indians. So that Sir Thomas Turton escaped with impunity after having robbed the widow and the orphan, but Mr. W. H. Bolt is incarcerated in jail for having cheated of comparatively insignificant sum of two lacs of rupees."

"Diseases of the chest" were not very unfrequent in those days among high placed officials like Sir Thomas Turton and Mr. Bolt.

Sir Thomas Turton made his application for final discharge at the end of the term of his remand and was opposed on behalf of his creditors by Mr. Dickens and Mr. Jackson. His own counsel Mr. Morton was absent from town and Sir Thomas Turton conducted his own case personally with his usual brilliance and ability. The following is a contemporary record of the proceedings on the occasion:—

He said, "I can not object to the report of the commissioners upon the defalcations in my office but I believe property has been secretly abstracted by others than myself, particularly that portion of it which was invested in Company's paper." This was firmly believed. There were individuals who entered Sir Thomas Turton's office as beggars, and who may be said to have left it as princes. Their names are well-known to Calcutta and we need not specify them. The main point of his attempted defence was that he had intended to replace every farthing he had removed and that but for the failure of the Union Bank, he would have been able to accomplish his design. He winded up a very able defence by a touching description of the misery he had suffered, and of its effects upon both his bodily and mental constitution. The defence was well delivered and was distinguished by the moderation of its tone, and by a tacit admission of the grievous faults which he had committed in his official capacity, while his appearance fully bore out his statement of the mental agony he had endured.

Sir Thomas was released from imprisonment in 1853 and left India. Many years ago he had settled and hoped to leave India under different and far more honourable circumstances, and under other auspices.

A capable advocate and a fearless citizen, he had strongly opposed Lord Macaulay's Black Act in 1836. He took a prominent and vigorous part in the demonstration against the act. At a public meeting held for denouncing the act. Sir Thomas said "Again I will say that I consider English Law to be my birth right, but if we must have a pure despotism let it be so declared. Let Turkish Gazi administer it, but if so, let us be made acquainted with the fact in order that we may know that this has ceased to be the land in which Englishman can live. (Hear, Hear.) It is no longer the country for us. I would not consent to live in it on such terms whatever were the emoluments or whatever prospect of advantage a residence here could hold forth (Hear, Hear). No temptation of profit should induce me to remain here on such condition. I would leave it with disgust to be enjoyed by those who are content to hug the chains that bind them and kiss the rod by which they are scourged. (Much applause.)"

Fate had otherwise willed and it was not writ that this gifted and lock-less excentricity should depart from Indian shores with flying colours as he had promised to do with heroic gradiloquence. Crestfallen he went and the curtain dropped on his meteoric but ill-conditioned career in 1854 when he died.

The Indian Press which was then mostly in European hands was agitated over the case. According to Sir W. Lee-Warner, the talented biographer of Lord Dalhousie "The bankruptcy and resignation of Sir Thomas Turton, the Ecclesiastical Registrar, Calcutta, and his large defalcations, appeared to the Indian Press at the time to be most serious event in the history of the first quarter of the year 1848." And to its honour be it said and proclaimed that the Press was absolutely right.

D. P. SARVADHIKARI.

Commercial and Social Intercourse between the Honourable East India Company and the Poona Court in the Eighteenth Century.

INTRODUCTION.

“THE national advantages which Great Britain derives from her commerce with India seems not only to have fixed the general attention of all the nations of Europe but is to be considered the most extensive and lucrative branch of her trade; every honest effort, therefore, that can tend to enlarge those commercial advantages will no doubt receive a liberal encouragement from that Government who knows no greater gratification than the countenancing and rewarding virtuous actions.” Thus wrote (1) Capt. R. Greene to the Governor-General, the Earl of Mornington (the Marquis Wellesley), from *zillah* Bihar on the 1st of June 1798. The inestimable value and advantages of Indian trade to the British people, which Capt. Greene refers to in the extract of his letter so late as the year 1798, was realised nearly two centuries before by a band of patriotic and adventurous Englishmen, who in the year 1600 established a trading company in the East, under the name of the Honourable East India Company for the benefit of their Mother Country. This Company, as every student knows, came into commercial and social contact with many nations of India during the course of its activities among whom, as we shall subsequently see, the Mahrattas stand prominently.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

It is well-known to the students of history how the Indian trade of the Company gradually became the “most extensive and lucrative branch of her trade” and how the “national advantages derived by Great Britain from this trade fixed the general attention of all the nations of Europe.” Among other European nations the Dutch, the French, the Danes, the German and the Swedes successively established their trading centres in India between the year 1602 and 1731 to oust the English from their commercial supremacy. But the survival of the fittest is fact and not fiction; thus the English in India by persistently following the policy of fair-play, self-restraint and toleration backed by “a liberal encouragement from their Government,”

(1) Mily. O. C., 5 June, 1800, No. 8.

not only emerged as winners in the tedious commercial struggle with European nations, but succeeded as well in building up an Empire in the East, the like of which the ancient Persians, Greeks and Romans could only conceive but never accomplish.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S FIRST COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH THE MAHRATTAS.

We find from the records (2) that after consolidating their trade in Bengal for nearly a century since the foundation of the Hooghly Factory in 1640, the Honourable East India Company turned their attention towards "the land of the Peshwas" with a view to extend their trade in their territories. In the month of July 1739, they entered into commercial relationship with the Mahrattas by signing a treaty at Bassein. In this transaction, Captain Inghird was appointed as the plenipotentiary of the British Government, while Chimnaji Appa, brother and *Dewan* of the then reigning Peshwa, Baji Rao Pundit Pradhan, acted on behalf of the Mahrattas. For the full terms of this treaty the student is referred to the records. From the papers embodying it, we find that iron, lead, brimstone, saltpetre, dammar, sail-cloth and coir formed the chief articles of trade in the Mahratta countries in the first half of the eighteenth century, and that the rivers Nagotam, Penn and Bancote, whose names are now forgotten, once formed the high waterways, through which the Maharatta trading vessels used to ply.

MUGHAL AFFAIRS IN 1739.

Let us now turn for a moment to the affairs of the Mughal Court at Delhi. At the time when the commercial *pour-parlers* were going on between the English and the Mahrattas, Nadir Shah, the Persian, swept down like a whirlwind from the north-west and after defeating the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shah, entered the Imperial Capital. After having subjected Delhi to a fifty-eight days' sack accompanied by slaughter, he left the city with booty estimated at 32 crores of rupees. In this invasion the magnificent Peacock Throne of the Great Mughal, Shah Jehan—the pride of Mughal grandeur in India—vanished for ever from the confines of Hindustan. Thus under the shadow of a dark calamity did the Honourable East India Company enter into commercial relations with the Mahrattas in the year 1739.

SECOND COMMERCIAL TREATY.

Seventeen years after the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, another treaty for the protection of each other's commercial rights and privileges was found imperative. On the 12th of October, 1756, Governor Bouchier concluded another commercial treaty with the third Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan. For the terms of the treaty the student is again referred to the records (3). We find from the treaty that the Dutch were also trading at the time with the Mahrattas, and that the port of Rajapur was used

(2) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

(3) *Ibid.*

by them for unloading their goods. It says: "The Dutch goods will not be permitted to be landed at Rajapur nor their trade suffered to be carried on there, concerning which the Mahrattas will give proper orders and the people under the Mahratta Government are not to trade at Rajapur." Curiously enough, the Mughal Empire in India this year again terribly suffered from the third inroad of the Afghan invader, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Imperial capital being sacked by him.

THIRD COMMERCIAL TREATY.

Five years after the conclusion of the second commercial treaty, another was found essential by the Honourable East India Company to protect their trading vessels and merchandise from the unjust and illegal interference of the Mahratta officials. The new treaty was concluded between the Governor Crommelin and the 4th Peshwa, Madhu Rao Balaji on the 14th September 1761. For the terms of the treaty (4), the student is once more referred to the records. The year was highly disastrous to the Mahrattas, for but eight months before their rising power in India had suffered a crushing blow by the combined armies of the Afghans and the Mughals on the field of Panipat.

THE CRUMBLING OF AN EMPIRE.

The fateful year of 1761 in which the treaty was concluded forms an important epoch in the annals of India. The great empire of the Mughals which was reared up by Babar on the field of Panipat 235 years ago was crumbling to pieces. The Emperor, Shah Alum, was wandering about in the confines of Behar as a fugitive. Ahmad Shah Durrani, the victor, of the third battle of Panipat, was the undisputed master of Hindustan. In the districts around Delhi, the Jats, on one side, and the Rohillas, on the other, were consolidating the power they had usurped. The Mahratta dream of universal empire in India under a Hindu sceptre was shattered for ever on the field of Panipat and although the fourth Peshwa, Madhu Rao Balaji was still at the head of the Mahratta confederacy, its power was henceforth partitioned among the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Bhonsla of Nagpur, Holkar of Indore and Scindhia of Gwalior, all of whom were seldom at peace with one another. The Nizam of Hyderabad had been crippled by the surrender of some of his most valuable districts to the Mahrattas. The power of the French was broken. In southern India, Hyder Ali was on the point of grasping the supreme control in Mysore, and the English, since their success on the field of Plassey in 1757, were establishing and consolidating their predominance in Bengal and in the valley of the Ganges. Such were the vicissitudes of the times.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SOCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE MAHRATTAS.

With the steady progress of commercial relationship between the Honourable East India Company and the Mahrattas since 1739, a cordial

feeling and good-will naturally grew up. The first practical evidence of this friendship was given by the 6th Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan, who through his *vakil* sent some valuable gifts (5) to General Sir John Clavering and Mr. Richard Barwell on the 6th August 1777. Thus the foundation of social relationship between the Honourable East India Company and the Poona Court was laid by the latter in the year 1777.

THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR. FOURTH COMMERCIAL TREATY.

The course of this commercial and social amity between the Honourable East India Company and the Mahratta Court which had hitherto run smoothly was somewhat disturbed by the outbreak of the First Mahratta War in 1779. On the conclusion of this war the fourth commercial treaty was found essential to safeguard the trading interests of both parties which had suffered during the war. This treaty between the British Government and the Poona Court was signed at Salbai in the month of May, 1782.

RESUMPTION OF SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

The records between the year 1783 and 1788 are silent about the exchange of complimentary gifts between the two Governments which ceased for sometime after the First Mahratta War. The first instance of "the commencement of the social intercourse" by means of gifts and presents after the war occurs towards the end of the year 1788. From the letter (6) of the Board to C. W. Malet (7), British Resident at Poona, dated the Council Chamber, 30th December, 1788, it may be found that the British Government sent about this time to the Poona Court (the Mahratta Court) a bale consisting of the finest fabrics of Bengal as a complimentary gift. Again, we find, in the letter (8) of Malet to the Board, dated Poona, January 1789 that in the Christmas of the year 1788 he sent to the Poona Court a gift consisting of fruits and sweetmeats. We also find from this letter that about this time the Mahratta Court also sent to the British Government as a present "a diamond ring and a string of pearls." Lastly we find in the records (9) that on the 19th and the 22nd June 1789 the Mahratta Court sent to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, several articles of the Deccan fabrics "to convey their sense of regard and respect for the British Government."

(5) Pub. O. C., 11 Aug. 1777, No. A; see also Appendix.

(6) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 27.

(7) Sir Charles Warre Malet was the eldest son of the Rev. Alexander Malet, Rector of Combe Florey, Somerset. At an early age he entered the service of the Honourable East India Company and after filling various posts, including a mission to the Great Mughal, he was in 1785, appointed Resident Minister at Poona at the Court of the Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan. Subsequently Malet was for sometime acting Governor of Bombay up to the year 1798 when he retired from service returning Home. He was created a baronet on 24 Feb. 1791. He was an F. R. S. and an F. S. A. and died in 1815. (Gent. Magazine, 1815, Part I, page 185.)

(8) Pub. O. C., 16 Mar. 1789, No. 7.

(9) Pub. O. C., 5 Aug. 1789, No. 5; 23 Oct. 1789, Nos. 4-6.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENDEAVOURS TO INTRODUCE BENGAL FABRICS IN THE MAHRATTA TERRITORIES.

Careful readers of the records will find that in the selection of the presents for the Mahratta Court, the Honourable East India Company always paid particular attention to the "muslin cloths and fine white fabrics manufactured in Bengal" with a view to their introduction and circulation in the Mahratta countries and in the Deccan. The following extract from Malet's letter (10) to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, the 26th June, 1789, will elucidate matters:—

"Your Lordship will recollect that the commencement of the intercourse of presents originated in the hope of making it conducive to the foundation of commercial advantages by the introduction of the white cloths of Bengal for the consumption of this (Mahratta) country. In this idea, permit me, my lord, to submit to your consideration the propriety of sending, after a proper interval, another allotment of Bengal manufacturers, to be carefully composed of the finest kinds of flowered muslins, such as *Agabannoo tartore*, but above all of the most delicate *shubnum*, for none but the very finest textures will answer your Lordship's intention of conveying satisfaction to the Mahratta people, whose affectation of delicacy in their dress is excessive."

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENDEAVOURS TO INTRODUCE ENGLISH WARES AND SCIENTIFIC GOODS IN THE PESHTA'S DOMINIONS.

Another interesting point which we gather from the records is that this "social intercourse of presents" between the Honourable Company and the Mahrattas gave Malet a golden opportunity to introduce into the Peshwa's dominions the scientific and geographical goods manufactured in England and thus gradually helped to "propagate among the Mahrattas a love and esteem for the arts and sciences of England." The following extract from the letter (11) of Malet to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, the 26th June, 1789, is to the point:—

"As, however, in the prosecution of this (social) intercourse, I should be glad to convert it to the propagation of an esteem and love for the arts and sciences of our native country (England) and as the Mahratta Minister has on more occasion than one desired me to give the young Peshwa an idea of our geographical system, which I have complied as well as my scanty collection of maps permitted, I have to crave your Lordship's indulgence in suggesting your commissioning, or permitting me to commission, from England to Bombay, an orrery,* a pair of globes, a set of instruments and a set of the largest and best coloured maps procurable; in which great attention

(10) Pub. O. C., 5 Aug. 1789, No. 5.

(11) *Ibid.*

* The name is derived from Fourth Earl of Orrery (1676-1731), for whom one of this astronomical instrument was first made.

should be paid to the durability of the articles and the real goodness of their workmanship, particularly in the orrery and globes as none but of the strongest and best materials would stand in this country, and the smallest disorder would render them totally useless where no damage can be repaired."

RULES AGAINST ACCEPTANCE OF COMPLIMENTARY GIFTS BY THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS.

From the records (12) which deal with the exchange of presents between the Company and the Mahratta Court, we find that the English officers were debarred by "the laws of England" from accepting any complimentary presents from any source whatever on their own account but had to credit them to the account of the Honourable Company. As this law also applied to the complimentary gifts from the Peshwa's Court, it was taken as a national affront and insult by the Mahratta Government. Malet brought this fact to the notice of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, in his letters of the 13th and 14th February, 1789 and pointed out to him that he (Malet) "experiences much inconvenience and embarrassment in his intercourse in public business with the Peshwa and his Ministers by the prohibition under which he (Malet) had been laid against accepting complimentary presents." Lord Cornwallis, accordingly, thought it necessary to relax the rule relating to the acceptance of complimentary gifts on the part of the Company's servants, and in his letter to Malet, dated Fort William, 16th March, 1789, wrote as follows:—

"I have after very mature deliberation thought it incumbent upon me, though not without some degree of reluctance, to relax on that head of your instructions (*i.e.*, propriety of accepting complimentary gifts)."

"I had long entertained hopes that the Mahratta Ministers would after your explanations have clearly seen that no just cause was given to them for offence by our adopting a line of conduct which we declared to be conformable to instructions from home, as well as to our own national customs; but however unreasonable it may be on them to persevere in expecting the continuance of an acquiescence on our part with the customs of India, I think it more prudent to desist from a punctilious observance of the rule which I had wished to establish rather than run the risk of embarrassing and impeding essential points of public business by the imitation (*sic*) and disgust which a constant refusal to comply with that part of their manners and customs in ceremonial intercourse would probably occasion."

RECORDS ON THE COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The archives of the Imperial Record Department contain several records (13) of the latter half of the eighteenth century which supply ample

(12) Pub. O. C., 11 Aug. 1777, No. A; 16 Mar. 1789, No. D.

(13) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, Nos. 25-29.

materials for writing an interesting chapter on the commercial and economic history of the Peshwa's dominions of that period. These records deal with the accounts of the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahrattas, of the state of the trade which was then carried on between the Company and the Mahrattas, of the gradual expansion of the city of Poona, of the true sources of the wealth of the Mahratta state, of the imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta countries, of the agriculture, commerce and topography of the Deccan and the contiguous countries, of the state of the then Mahratta Government and of the Mughal rule before its final disruption. Among these papers, the letter (14) written by Malet to Lord Cornwallis from Poona on the 8th of August, 1788, stands conspicuous. This letter forms the report which Malet sent to the Governor-General in reply to his enquiry of the 28th November, 1787, regarding "the present and past state of the commercial intercourse between the Company's territories and those of the Mahrattas." The intention (15) of Lord Cornwallis in asking his report from Malet was "to form a judgment how far the aforesaid commercial intercourse may admit of an increase advantageous to both sides."

MALET'S REPORT ON THE MAHRATTA COUNTRIES.

The report of Malet is a mine of information for the students of the Mahratta history of the time. It draws a dark picture of the system of government which was then in vogue at Poona, the headquarters of the Mahratta Government, and of the principles which influenced the rulers of it—things which were, according to him, highly prejudicial to the growth of English commerce in their countries during that period. The following extracts from the report in question throw a flood of light on this point as well as on various other subjects relating to contemporary Mahratta history:—

"The Peshwa administration is on every act more or less influenced by that avarice which so invariably and so strongly marks the Brahmin character; while mean in its genius and grasping in its policy, it frequently mistakes the mode of gratifying its ruling passion averse from, and probably ignorant of the systematic and equitable principles on which alone commerce can be rendered flourishing by encouraging the industry in the security and happiness of the subject. Its chief attention seems directed to conquest and depredation giving employment at once to the desultory military spirit of the Mahrattas and supplying the State and the chief individual Brahmin with wealth and power."

"Commerce, but more especially foreign, less understood, would be more slow and precarious in its operation. The arrangements necessary for its effectual protection are incompatible with that spirit of expedient and venality by which every thing is influenced at Poona. They would in some measure intrench upon the arrogant principles of aristocracy by a general diffusion of wealth and interfere with the system of farms which is universally

(14) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

(15) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25 (1st para.).

adopted from the smallest branch of the customs to the disposal of provinces whence the subject, instead of experiencing the uniform and vigorous protection of a wise Government is cruelly sacrificed to the rapacity and oppression of the highest bidder."

"The state of the numerous ports of the Mahratta Empire on the coast of Malabar and the Guzarat, but more especially the former, evinces a spirit hostile to commerce and I have not a doubt were its fleet equal to the end (sic but that it would be instantly converted to the same predatory purpose at sea as its armies are by land as it now is against all those whom it can master. This perhaps is fortunate for us as presenting a bar to the admission and rivalship of our European neighbours though certainly the customs of a single year in a well frequented port, not to mention the numberless advantages of population, etc., would greatly exceed the profits of plunder after deducting the expense which must be great in keeping up a number of piratical vessels."

"The rich and commercial kingdom of Guzarat (every town of which is or was inhabited by rich Banians, a tribe as attached to commerce as any other tribe of the Hindus to its hereditary pursuits) flourished infinitely more by its traffic during the violent convulsions of the Mughal Government, previous to the establishment of the Mahratta power, than it ever has since that event, though time and tranquillity have given ample leisure for doing away the effects of conquest and the transfer of dominion."

MALET'S REMARKS ON THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT.

"The Mughals, magnificent and ostentatious, required every article of luxury. Towns and cities grew out of this spirit. The Brahmins and Mahrattas, less refined and more parsimonious, are averse from and ignorant of those costly modes of expense. Hence those towns and cities, deprived of the cause of their existence, are mouldering fast into ruin and their wealthier inhabitants have sunk under or fled from the rapacity of their new masters. In this cause might probably be traced the seeds of the present drooping commercial state of all those provinces of Hindustan that have been subjected to the Mahratta power under which the Provincial moneyed men, not to mention the substantial landholders, have been subjected to oppressions and exactions. Personal property has become insecure. Industry has failed; an aristocratical wealth, arising from the soil and the labours of the peasantry, has succeeded which is confined to the conquerors; and Poona (the headquarters of the Peshwa Government) has become an insatiable sink into which vast treasures have been poured scarce ever again to circulate."

"This was not the case under the Mughals. The riches carried annually to Delhi did not stagnate there. The internal commerce of the Empire and the spirit of the people gave full employment to the foreign influx of wealth. The productions of each province and the performances of every art were in high demand and the pay of the vast armies of the

Empire kept pace in magnificence with every other article of expense. Hence arose numberless channels through which the wealth of the Empire was again circulated to its extreme branches."

"The mere accumulation of riches by the inhabitants of an Empire is vicious and sordid but much more so when it becomes the sole object of the rulers. A wise legislature studies to make them the stimulatives of genius, of sciences, of agriculture and of commerce, to convert them to the consumption of the produce of industry and so to arrange them as that the coffers of the State may be replenished from the redundancy of the subject but this system is not known at Poona."

MALET ON THE REVENUE POLICY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

The following comments of Malet on the Mahratta fiscal policy, on the principal expedients which they resorted to for the supply of their revenues and on the true sources of the wealth of their State amply repay perusal:—

"The fixed and grand source of the Mahratta State's revenue is agriculture, the best perhaps on which a nation can depend. That it has such a revenue is the necessary consequence of possessing an immense tract of productive domain, that it is not more productive but, on the contrary, that it labours under every disadvantage proceeds from a faulty constitution. The second is its tribute, fixed by various denominations on the greatest part of Hindusthan. The third, the predatory collections of its armies. The fourth, its domestic sequestrations and the last, its collections on the commerce of the Empire which are comparatively trifling and insignificant."

The following account of the gradual expansion of the city of Poona in the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the increase in the number of its inhabitants and of the cause from which it proceeded will prove interesting to the reader:—

"Poona is still a large village to which people of all denominations and all professions are now beginning to resort from the other ruined parts of Hindusthan, particularly from the decayed Mughal cities. Its reputation for security, since the two abortive expeditions from Bombay, has greatly tended to promote its increase and population as the wealthier Brahmins have in consequence begun to employ some part of their hidden riches in building, which single circumstance necessarily gives employment to a great number and a great variety of artificers as the wants attendant on large buildings are endless."

"The circumstances which are above enumerated of the great wealth of the Brahmins and the great increase of Poona in buildings and inhabitants, must, I should imagine cause a greater demand for the articles which can be furnished only from Bombay than heretofore."

BENGAL AND GUJARAT TRADE COMPARED.

The following extracts from Malet's report give to the students of the economic history of India some interesting accounts of the agriculture,

commerce and manufactures of Bengal as also of the Guzarat during the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the effects which the First Mahratta War (1779-81) subsequently produced on the Bengal-Mahratta trade:—

"It has been suggested to me that the trade of Bengal raw silk and piece-goods with the Mahratta countries through the channel of Bombay has greatly decreased of late years, which decrease is imputed to the interruption caused by the war, and the consequent diversion of that trade into other channels. It appears, however, from the "comparative account of imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta territories" (16) that the war has not been productive of this effect. But even allowing that it had, I presume, that the loss would have been confined to Bombay in being deprived of the beneficial consequences of commercial mediation, but that the consumption of the produce of Bengal would not have been affected since other channels by sea and land present themselves to supply the stoppage of intercourse with Bombay. Hence arises a conclusion that hostility with the Poona Government is not in any case likely to be attended with commercial prejudice to Bengal."

"I have been informed by Governor Ramsay that the demand for the Guzarat cotton in Bengal has greatly decreased of late years owing to the increased cultivation of it at home. This seems to convey a proof of the increase of industry and population in the latter province and as the same gentleman mentions likewise a great decrease in the importation of raw silk at Bombay, this likewise may be imputed to a greater appropriation of that article to the establishment of new or the multiplication of old manufactures at home."

"It is a very curious circumstance in commercial intercourse that these two richest provinces of Hindusthan, I mean, Guzarat and Bengal, used regularly to exchange their respective commodities of silk and cotton; the former, the produce of Bengal, was manufactured in the highest perfection at and distributed all over the Eastern World from, Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzarat; the latter, the growth of Guzarat was distributed in a still greater degree of delicacy and perfection from the looms of Bengal. These with spices, were the articles by which the specie of the West has from time immemorial been drawn to the East."

"If therefore by improving its manufactures of silk, Bengal can at all rival those of Guzarat, the advantage of its being a domestic produce will be decisive while, on the other hand, should it emancipate itself from all dependance of Guzarat for cotton (in the fabric of which it confessedly excels all the world) by cultivating sufficient for its manufactures, the concentration of the produce and manufacture of those two grand articles in itself must necessarily conduce greatly to the increase of its population and as necessarily draw into its circulation the specie of the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia, not to mention that of Europe, and a large portion of that of the

rest of Hindusthan (though the fabric and sale of its finest white cloths have suffered an irrecoverable blow in the annihilation of the Mughal Empire, in the elegance and refinement of which sprang their chief consumption); and in addition to its rice, saltpetre, opium, sugar, etc., to which indigo has lately been added present, as being the produce of the soil, the most inexhaustible, most unfailing and most desirable sources of wealth. I am informed that several families of Guzarat silk manufacturers, *soucars* and others, distressed by the oppressions of the farmers of this State who rule that Province have fled to and settled at Benares where they practise their former occupation."

FURTHER MATERIALS REGARDING THE COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

Malet enclosed with his report some papers which are highly useful to students of history. Among these papers the following are worthy of our attention:—

FIRST ENCLOSURE.

(1) Statement of charges and mode of commercial conveyance between Poona and Goa and with other manufacturing towns of the Company's Eastern territories (Bengal) during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

This enclosure gives us a general view of the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahratta countries independant of their intercourse with Bombay. It also conveys important information regarding the trade and manufactures of Bengal. From these papers it is gathered that tin, pepper, dry coconuts, betelnuts, spices, quick-silver, lead, saffron, asfoetida, vermillion, copper, wax-candles, broad cloth, raw silk and muskets were the principal articles which used to come from Goa to Poona by means of bullocks or boats. Again we find that piece-goods, white and coloured and plain cotton mixed with silk used to come from Narronpoynt (North of the Krishna river) to Poona by means of bullocks. *Chintzes* and white cloths used to come from Burhanpur (on the Tapti river) to Poona by means of bullocks and *tatoos* (ponies). The *chintzes* of this city were held in high esteem at the city of Poona. A *chintz* turban, *seyla* and *jummah* of the best fabric would cost upwards of rupees one thousand. We again find that *seylas*, turbans, *saris*, white and coloured plain and mixed, used to come from Peytun (on the Wain-Ganga river) to Poona by means of bullocks, and mixed silk and cotton brocaded cloths, used to come from Aurangabad (in Nizam Ali's dominions) to Poona by means of the same conveyance. White cotton piece-goods used to come from Shagur (on the Wain-Ganga river) to Poona also by means of bullocks. Benares and Bengal cotton and silk piece-goods used to come from Mirzapore (on the Ganges) to Nagpur by means of bullocks. Nagpur used to trade with Omrahpur in Benares and Bengal cotton and silk piece-goods and *vice versa* and bullocks were employed as the means of conveyance.

The following extracts from this enclosure should prove of interest to the readers:—

NOTES ON COMMERCIAL TOPICS FROM MALET'S REPORT.

- (a) "The goods that reach Poona by the Mirzapore route are chiefly *petambiers* and *taftas*. Raw silk is taken up at Aurangabad and other places on the road. The principal importation of Bengal goods is said to be through Bombay; but it does not appear that the white piece-goods of Bengal are in that demand in the Deccan which their quality seems to merit."
- (b) "The mixed silk and cotton brocaded cloths which are manufactured in the city of Aurangabad are inferior to those of Guzarat and the city is almost depopulated by the oppression of the Government straitened as it is by the neighbourhood and usurpations of this (*sic*) to which the decline of its trade with the Carnatic may probably be added. Great quantities of Bengal raw silk were formerly manufactured in this city and brought in by the way of Benares and Bombay. The quality is now greatly fallen off."
- (c) "The *chintzes* of the city of Burhanpur are in very high esteem at the city of Poona. A *chintz* turban, *seyla* and *jammah* of the best fabric will cost upwards of a thousand rupees."

15253.
SECOND ENCLOSURE.

(2) Statements of the imports and exports between Bombay and Poona between the years 1773 and 1787 by Governor Ramsay from the Bombay Custom House records. We find from the records that these "Statements" also speak of imports and exports at the subordinate port of Mahim on the northern extremity of the Island of Bombay.

This enclosure makes it clear that the balance of trade between Bombay and the Mahratta countries during the years mentioned in it was greatly in favour of the former as is evidenced by the costly nature of many of the export articles. It can further be seen that some of the articles imported at Bombay from Poona were again exported to advantage.

THIRD ENCLOSURE.

(3) Comparative account of imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta territories during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The above enclosure reveals to us the extraordinary fact that in spite of the First Mahratta War the imports at Bombay during that war were decidedly greater and that the exports, except in the article of broad cloth, were not very deficient.

FOURTH ENCLOSURE.

(4) Estimates of charges on goods between Bombay and Poona including expense of carriage and customs.

This paper furnishes an "idea of an extraordinary want of minuteness and discrimination on the part of the Poona Court in the arrangement of the

imports on the principal articles of commerce between Bombay and Poona; while on the other hand the simple mode that is substituted to that of fixing the imposts on a valuation of the articles relieves the merchant from the vexatious cavil and altercation which must otherwise ensue with a grasping tenacious farmer of the revenue." The enclosure further gives us information as to the mode of conveyance adopted towards the latter half of the eighteenth century in certain parts of the Mahratta country for carrying goods and merchandise. The paper says: —

"The ruggedness of the country between Panwell and Poona, but more particularly the impracticability of the *Ghauts* to any wheeled or draft conveyance confines the whole of the carriage to bullocks with the exception of a few *tatoos*."

These enclosures (17) are too lengthy for reproduction.

MALET'S DESCRIPTION OF THE DECCAN AND THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES.

The concluding portion of Malet's report gives a fascinating account of the commerce and topography of the Deccan and of the adjoining countries and presents vividly many interesting points relating to the past history of several important Indian cities of that period. The following extract is reproduced:—

"Exclusive of the above principal piece-good manufactories (Curpa, Narronpoynt, Burhanpur, Mirzapore and Shagur) there are several other towns of less note as Mandeer, Bhur, Edghere (*sic*) and Jalna. The Deccan is supplied with its best silk goods, *Kinkhubs*, etc., from Guzarat; opium from Malwa; matchlocks, bows and swords are brought from the Northern part of Hindusthan, from Ahmedabad and other places, and some are manufactured in the Muhammadan cities of Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Bijapur. A considerable quantity of Masulipatam *chintz* reaches the Deccan which is used for making quilted coats and various other kinds of quilting. The turbans of that country are also good, but they are too short for the fashion of this country."

"Poona cannot boast of the establishment of a single manufacture, for surely the practice of a few fugitive and temporary weavers from Aurangabad do not yet entitle it to the name of possessing a manufacture. The great vales (if a space of country full of distinct hills but bounded by long ranges can be called so) into which the Deccan is divided are well furnished with rivulets, most of which might, I conceive, even in their present unimproved state, be used to advantage, during the rainy season, to promote the interior carriage of the country; but except the transportation of a very few rafts of timber, I do not observe that the smallest benefit is derived from them in that way. The long courses of the *Ganga* (Wain-Ganga) and the Kistna might certainly be converted to great commercial advantage, not to mention the innumerable less important streams that flow into them; but as the direction

of all of them is ultimately the same, the distant communication across that direction must necessarily intersect those ranges of hills which give direction to the rivers, and by which, as already observed, the whole country is divided. The rugged and unimproved passes of those ranges render bullocks the only practicable mode of conveyance though carts of a very rude construction are used by the villager for the conveyance of grain within the different ranges, but even in those spaces, the country is extremely uneven and stony."

"I am informed that formerly there was a great mart for the horses of the Deccan and the camels of Marwar at the great annual *Jattrā* of Tripetty (a town and hill temple in Madras) which is held in the month of October. Great quantities of the brocade and silk goods of Aurangabad and the Guzarat, with other piece-goods, used to go with the caravans from the Deccan, whence were brought in exchange several articles of the fabric of the Lower Carnatic. This great assembly of distant nations at Tripetty was on religious principles and the same strong attraction operates the same very beneficial effect throughout, I believe, the whole of Hindusthan. It is a great pity that the interests and happiness of mankind, so closely connected and so eminently promoted by such an intercourse, should be exposed to the caprice and the passions of princes. The route of the Deccan caravans to Tripetty was, I am informed, originally through Curpa. The violences of the Pathan Chief of that place, while it was an Independency, diverted it further to the Southward, through the territory of Hyder Ali; and the late war between that Prince and the Company drove it back again still further to the Northward through Hyderabad; but Tipu Sultan is now, I understand, using his utmost efforts to bring this golden current into its ancient channel."

LORD CORNWALLIS ON BENGAL TRADE.

From the records it appears that after reading Malet's report Lord Cornwallis wrote him a letter (18) on the 30th of October 1788, from Fort William, instructing him to convert his experience of the Mahratta countries "to the desirable purposes of improving the revenues of Bengal by increasing her trade and promoting the sale of her manufactures in those countries." In this letter he requests Malet "to encourage those people who have taken refuge to the city of Poona from the decayed Mughal towns of Hindusthan to seek an asylum in the Company's territories in Bengal" and also to invite "the Burharnpur manufacturers of *chintz* and the ingenious artists of all denominations to settle with their families under the protection of the Company, especially those who can introduce any new arts or manufactures or improve such as are already established in Bengal."

MALET'S NOVEL SUGGESTIONS.

So far we have seen that the Honourable East India Company used to draw Indian wealth by means of commerce for "the national advantages of

Great Britain." But in the records it is noted that Malet in his letter (19) to Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, January 1789, suggested a novel method of attaining the same object. This consisted in "working on the religious opinions of the people of Hindusthan." The following extract from his letter explains the scheme:—

"In my present public address you will observe that I have started an idea of working on the religious opinions of the Poona Court and that of Nagpur to promote our views by granting them immunities and indulgences at Benares and Gaya. It has in all ages been a grand object of the wisdom of legislators to draw foreign wealth into their dominions and I need not recapitulate the various expedients of spectacles, games, oracles, mysteries and reputed sanctity of various places which have been used so successfully by almost all nations and of which Benares and Mecca are at this instant so strong examples of attraction over the two great sects of the Eastern World. These are complete proofs of the influence in its full force unbroken by any of those circumstances of anarchy or oppression that weaken and destroy it; and instance of which predicament offers in the present state of Jerusalem where the avarice and bigotry of the Ruling power hostile to the faith of the pilgrims has almost entirely done away the source of wealth incident to that desire of visiting the Holy City which once roused all Christendom to arms. If then it is an object worthy of attention to draw a concourse of foreigners and of course their wealth into our land, it necessarily becomes an object to add to the attractions of superstition those of safety, ease and freedom from imposition and though I am sure that the genius of no Government in the world is more likely than ours to insure the latter, the great difference of our ideas and the distance of the object may without reflection have rendered us indifferent as to any active favourable interposition, for which, when I surmise that there may be room in the structure of *caravanseries* for the accommodation of the votaries and a regular appointment of officers charged with the management and government of so heterogeneous a multitude. I confess that I do it at a venture, without knowing whether any such things do already exist or not. What I have mentioned as to the provisional grant of immunities to the Court and that of Nagpur is also, I must confess, without any knowledge of the subject, other than that I think it might be so used as to be introduced with very great weight, and even should the idea on the present occasion never operate, I have some notion that a voluntary offer to the different Hindu princes of Hindusthan that a certain number of their passports or ours sent to them, should annually entitle the possessors to a free passage to the two holy places would be attended with the two great and good consequences of highly gratifying those princes and promoting the spirit of pilgrimage, and as I doubt not but that all the courts to whom such privilege might be granted would make a perquisite of it somewhat inferior to the common imposts, it follows that they would be then interested to promote a spirit which it is now evidently their interest to check and divert, however they may be blinded to that interest by prejudice and superstition.

But if my idea is worthy of any notice, all immunities or indulgence should of course be reserved exclusively for the Courts on which we mean to make an impression. And if in the course of these negotiations we should be able to secure the money of the pilgrims for the supply of Bombay by granting them bills at an easy exchange on Benares, surely nothing would remain either for Government or the pilgrim to wish from us after having so liberally contributed to the extension of the Power of the one and the Ease of the other and 'what is a singular felicity in the distribution of benefits.' All to the advancement of our own honour and most essential interests!"

How far the suggestions of Malet were utilized and acted upon by the Government will be seen from the records of the nineteenth century which do not come within the scope of this paper.

APPENDIX.

(1) List of articles presented by the *Vakil* of the Peshwa and Ministers at Poona to General Sir John Clavering on the 6th August 1777:—

- (a) One horse.
- (b) One Sirpaich.
- (c) Two Shawls.
- (d) One piece of *Kinkhab*.
- (e) Seven pieces of white cloth called *Moondée*.

(2) List of articles presented by the *Vakil* of the Peshwa and Ministers at Poona to Mr. R. Barwell:—

(*Same as above.*)

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Last Days of Rajah Chait Singh.¹

(Based on unpublished State Records.)

CHAIT SINGH, Raja of Benares, is one of the tragic characters in the drama of Warren Hastings' government of India. The Rajahs of Benares had at first been feudatories of Oudh, but by the treaty of May 1775, Nawab Asaf-ud-daula ceded the State of Benares to the Company, and its Rajahs became vassals of the English on the same conditions as before. Hastings, who was displeased with Chait Singh for various reasons, (see Gleig's *Memoirs of W. Hastings*, ii. 399-401), and had received reports of his having accumulated a crore and-a-half of Rupees,—wanted to exact from him heavy extraordinary contributions for the Maratha war in which the Company was then involved. For at first objecting to these demands and then delaying in complying with them, the Governor-General decided to punish him; he personally went to Benares, imposed on Chait Singh a fine of 50 lakhs, i.e., 2½ times the annual tribute of the Benares State, and put the Rajah under arrest in his own house, the Shivala palace (16 Aug. 1781). There was afterwards a tumult between the Rajah's followers and the sepoys and chobdars of the Company stationed there, with the result that the latter were killed. The Rajah escaped across the river, and was deposed and declared a rebel. He took refuge at Bijaigarh, on the hills overlooking the Son river, but fled from that fort to Rewa when Major Popham came to invest it.

The fugitive ex-Rajah next sought asylum among the petty princes of Bundelkhand and finally in the dominions of Sindhia, where he died in obscurity in 1810.

This is all that can be learnt about Rajah Chait Singh from history, which, however, is silent on his closing days, perhaps because he ceased to figure in the politics of this country after his expulsion from Benares. In this paper I shall try to reconstruct, as far as possible, the history of his last days with the help of unpublished State records.

Hastings stood in urgent need of peace with the Peshwa and he was, therefore, glad when news reached him at Benares that Col. Muir had concluded a secret treaty with Sindhia at Budha Dongar (near Marwar) on 13 October, 1781. This only secured a cessation of hostilities with that Chief who, however, made an offer to interpose his friendly offices at the Puna darbar for bringing about a pacification between the Peshwa and the Company's Government. In order to hasten the conclusion of such a peace, Hastings now charged David Anderson with a deputation to the camp of Sindhia, who possessed great credit and influence in the Maratha State. Anderson left Benares on 5 Nov. 1781, and on the 28th of the month

(1) Read before the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Nagpur on 5th December, 1928.

waited upon Col. Muir, then encamped at Etawa, from whom he was instructed to obtain all necessary information and advice before proceeding to Sindhia.

In the meantime, Chait Singh had sent a trusted agent to the camp of Sindhia to plead his cause in advance and propose once again to oppose the British with a strong army. Leaving Bundelkhand Chait Singh himself finally joined the Gwalior Chief in the neighbourhood of Datia (November 1781) (2). The needy state of Sindhia's finances, the natural avarice of the Marathas, and the great wealth which Chait Singh was reported to have carried away with himself evidently influenced Sindhia to welcome the fugitive Rajah in his camp. The following extracts from Col. Muir's letters explain the position:—

"The intelligence I have from my *qasids* is, that Chait Singh's *wakil* has been with Sindhia some time, and has had several private audiences with him. The *wakil* on the part of his master requested the Patil's assistance by secretly consenting to Shivaji [Vittal] and Ambaji's joining him with their followers with a view to invade his former zamindari: Chait Singh, on the above being complied with, offered not only to pay the arrears of Sindhia's army but to defray the monthly expenses of all those who would attach themselves to his fortunes. The *qasids* further positively assert that all the Nagas in Sindhia's army have withdrawn themselves and joined Chait Singh at Jauney, where he now is and has been received most cordially." (5th December, 1781) (3).

"The *qasids*, who brought me the Patil's letters this morning, bring certain accounts of his having marched from Pechowli and was at the time they were despatched (the 1st instant) encamped between Harerah and Datia; by his letter to me you will learn Chait Singh's being then in his camp, and the desire he seems impressed with of becoming a mediator with you in his favour." (6th December, 1781) (4).

On 4th November 1781 Hastings had written to Sindhia informing him of Anderson's deputation to his camp, but the Gwalior Chief expressed his disinclination to admit the British envoy, until he should receive written authority to do so from the ministers at Puna, whom he had already addressed on the subject. At the same time he sent the following letter to Col. Muir:—

(2) The Peshwa's Government urged Mahadji to support the Benares Rajah and use him as a tool against the English. As the Puna Minister, Nana Fadnavis, wrote to Naro Shivdev, his agent with Mahadji in Malwa, on 27th November 1781:—"Chait Singh was weakened by Amani (Asaf-ud-daula) going over to the British and by the defeat of his own followers and had consequently to run away. He, however, is a man of spirit and deserves to be helped in his distress, in order to humble the British. So please urge upon Mahadji the great need of supporting the cause of Chait Singh, without caring for any monetary gain in the affair. This is a splendid opportunity." (Sané's *Kavyetihas Sangraha*, Patren Yadi, No. 294).

(3) *Secret Con.* 2nd January, 1782, No. 13.

(4) *Ibid.*, No. 14.

"You formerly wrote me in a letter that on hearing of the friendship subsisting between me and the Company, Rajah Chait Singh had claimed my protection. We have had an interview to-day. I am desirous that as our friendship is of the sincerest, you will write to the Nawab Jeladat Jang that whatever may be for his welfare he will do. Whatever I hear I will write you." (Received on 25th November 1781) (5).

Col. Muir, in acknowledging Sindhia's letters on the 19th Zil-hijja [1195H.-6 December 1781], took care to point out the impropriety of harbouring an enemy of the Company, when sincere friendship subsisted between them. Hastings, who had learnt from Col. Muir of the compassion extended to Chait Singh by Sindhia, also wrote to the latter on 22nd November, 1781, requesting him to withdraw his protection from the rebel.

Hastings did not read any unfriendly spirit in the conduct of Sindhia towards Chait Singh. This is clearly explained in his letter of 12th December, 1781 to Anderson, extracts from which are quoted below:—

"I can account for his conduct in both instances without imputing it to any design of departing from his engagements

"The fear of committing himself too far in an avowed separation of interests from the State to which he owes his obedience and service may be the cause of his hesitation in the first instance, and the allurements of Chait Singh's treasures his motives in the other. Conformably to this construction of his policy, I have written the enclosed letter to him

"It is my positive order that if Mahadji Sindhia shall decline to receive your deputation after the explanation which I have given him of its objects, or shall retain Chait Singh in his camp, or otherwise give him ostensible protection, you do instantly on receipt of his answers, should these not prove fully satisfactory on both these points, return to me." (12 Decr. 1781) (6).

After a few days Sindhia expressed his willingness to receive the deputation of Anderson, and Hastings passed this intelligence on to the Board at Calcutta:—

"I received letters both from Col. Muir and Mr. Anderson advising me that Mahadji Sindhia had pressingly invited Mr. Anderson to proceed to him, and that he had rejected all the solicitations of Chait Singh. On those occasion I wrote to Mr. Anderson to prosecute his journey and to pay no regard to my former letter, requiring only the removal of Chait Singh from the presence of Mahadji Sindhia while the Mr. Anderson was with him: in the meantime that gentleman having conformed to the substance of my first orders had obtained from Mahadji Sindhia a formal assurance that he would neither accept the solicitations of Chait Singh nor assist

(5) Sindhia to Col. Muir, received on 25th November 1781.—*Vol. (No. 17) of Eng. Trans. of Persian Letters Received for 1781*, pp. 376-77.

(6) *Secret Consultation* 2nd January, 1782, No. 16.

him in any way whatever, and that he would even prohibit him and his attendants from his darbar and kachari." (23 Jany. 1782). (7)

Sindhia mediated between the Poona Government and the English Company, and the treaty of Salbai, which was ratified by the Peshwa in December 1782, was the result, and for this service Hastings was sincerely grateful to the Chief of Gwalior. This transaction greatly enhanced Sindhia's influence and power.

To a man of such great influence as Mahadji Sindhia, Chait Singh now appealed for intercession with the English on his behalf. Sindhia consented to do this, although he had very soon to abandon the idea, owing to its impracticability, and tried to befriend the fugitive Rajah in other ways. David Anderson, the English Resident with Sindhia, explains the position at length in the following letter which he addressed to Governor-General Hastings on 8th May 1783:—

"I have for some time past (as I expected), been frequently and importunately solicited to write to you in favour of Chait Singh. Sindhia said that he received a letter from him whilst in Bundelkhand assuring him that he had no intention or desire of embroiling him with the English and that all he wanted was his friendly offices and intercession: that on these grounds he had received him into his camp and granted him protection; and that as everything else was now fully settled he hoped that he might use his intercession with effect. I persisted in my refusal to write, and Sindhia was much embarrassed; at one time he proposed to write to you himself; at another he resolved to bring Chait Singh suddenly to my tent, and throw him on my protection. I repeated all the circumstances which had passed betwixt him and the English Government—the peculiar favour with which you had treated him both in procuring him the first grant of the zamindari and in your subsequent conduct towards him—the base ingratitude which he had shewn in return—the danger and actual indignity to which he had exposed your persons—the cruelty and inhumanity which had marked and aggravated his rebellion—the proclamation issued by the gentlemen of the Council—the public declaration made by yourself to the principal inhabitants of Benares assembled on the investiture of his successor—the indignation conceived against him by all ranks of men both in India and in Europe. With the knowledge which I possessed of all these facts, I asked with what propriety could I presume to communicate any intercession in favour of a man whose offences were so heinous and unpardonable? or how could I, who had incessantly laboured to promote that firm and cordial friendship which subsisted

(7) *Forrest's Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Dep. of the Government of India, 1772-85*, iii. 834.

betwixt Sindhia and you, concur in his writing to you on a subject of this nature when no good effect could possibly result? I reminded him of the circumstances which had passed betwixt him and Tafazzal Husain Khan whilst I remained at Bandere. I observed that he had already done, all that hospitality or even his promise to Chait Singh required. I particularly entreated that he would not take the step which he meditated of bringing Chait Singh to me as it would draw me personally into a most disagreeable dilemma without the smallest prospect of any one consequence favourable to his wishes.

After many messages to and from, Bhau Bakhshi at length came to me and assured me that Sindhia was now fully convinced that the wishes he had formed for Chait Singh were totally impracticable, that otherwise he was well assured that I would not have been at so much pains to discourage them; and that he would now endeavour to provide for Chait Singh in some other way. Bhau Bakhshi ascribed the great importunity, which had been shown on this occasion, to the officious intrigues of one of his own servants who had endeavoured to supplant him in Sindhia's favour by flattering him with hopes that he would be more successful than his master to whose remissness he imputed the inefficacy of Sindhia's applications on this subject. Whatever truth there may be in this story, I am in hopes that the matter will now be completely dropped (8).

Sindhia finally decided to provide his protégé by bestowing a jagir as will be seen from the extracts quoted below from the British Resident's letters:—

"I understand that Sindhia has within these few days offered to settle a jagir of ten lakhs per annum on Chait Singh including Bhind and part of Cutchwagar. It is said that Chait Singh is not satisfied with this provision, and means only to accept of it until something better can be done for him." (9).

"No further application has been made to me since the same period regarding Chait Singh. The district which was proposed to be given him as a jagir in Bhind being situated on the high road and close to the Vizier's frontiers, he has rejected it, and applied for a place on the banks of the river Scind, which was last year reduced from the Rana [of Gohad]. It is called Bijagarh, and the name, it is said, has influenced Chait Singh in the choice of it. The amount of the intended jagir was at first reported to be ten lakhs. It is now reduced to five, and probably the real revenue will not exceed two or three. The sanads I am to see are not yet

(8) Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, to the Governor-General, dated Camp before Gwalior 8th May, 1783.—*Secret Con.* 29th May 1783, No. 6A.

(9) Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, dated Camp before Gwalior 20th May, 1783.—*Secret Con.* 16th June, 1783, No. 11.

made out. But Chait Singh has sent people to ascertain more accurately the state of the district, and on their return I suppose the grant will take place " (10).

The retirement of Warren Hastings from the Governor-Generalship raised in the mind of Chait Singh hopes of his being restored to the *gadi* of Benares, as we learn from the British Resident's letter:—

"The departure of the late Governor-General for Europe¹⁰ had afforded some grounds of expectation to Chait Singh and his partizans, for his re-establishment at Benares. Mirza Rahim Beg and Madhu Rao Diwan, two of Sindhia's confidential ministers who have chiefly shared in the spoils of his broken fortune, held several consultations on this occasion in conjunction with Himmat Bahadur; and they so far prevailed on Sindhia as to induce him to desire his agent to sound me by proposing several questions in regard to the powers you possessed of altering the arrangements of the late Governor-General and whether it was probable that you would pursue the same system. He went no further and I have great reason to think that he will not renew the subject. Indeed it is with extreme satisfaction I inform you that Sindhia has steadfastly adhered to the assurances he gave me of preventing Chait Singh's introduction to the King. In all public ceremonies in which the whole of the Chiefs in camp have attended and presented their nazars at Court, he has taken particular care that Chait Singh should be kept back; and I have a firm conviction he will continue to adhere to his promise on this occasion, with the same firmness, notwithstanding any attempts that may be made to persuade him to the contrary." (11).

Deprived of his fortune and despairing of restoration through the agency of Mahadji Sindhia, Chait Singh now became anxious to open direct negotiations with the British Resident, as the following extracts will show:—

"Some days ago I was informed by my servants that a chobdar, sent by Chait Singh, wished to speak with me. I refused him admittance on the score of its being impossible that his master could

(10) Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, dated Sindhia's Camp before Gwalior 10th June, 1783.—*Secret Con.* 30th June, 1783, No. 2.

The following reference to the *jagir* granted to Chait Singh is found in a letter which Sadashiv Dinkar (a trusted agent with Sindhia) addressed in June, 1785 (?) to Nana Fadnavis, who was asked for an official account of the income and disbursements of Mahadji, then in great distress for money:—"I beg to report that the right way of managing affairs is first acquire and then spend: but here this principle is not observed. . . Out of the new territory acquired on the south side of the Chambal, the parganas of Gwalior, Gohad, Bhind and Bhadawar, have been handed over for management to Khande Rao Hari on a payment of ten lakhs a year: then territories amounting to five lakhs in the highest computation, have been assigned in *jagir* to the Rajah of Benares; a further portion of villages amounting to two lakhs and ten thousand has been handed over to Shivaji Vithal." (Parasnis's *Itihas Sangraha*, Aitihāsik Tipanēn, v. 9, No. 10).

(11) Letter from Lt. Anderson, dated Sindhia's Camp near Agra 23rd March, 1785.—*Secret Con.* 9 April, 1785, No. 14.

have any business with me; upon which he sent in a message that he only came to enquire after my health; and that it was his mater's wish, he might be permitted to do so every day. As Chait Singh had never before taken any open steps towards the establishment of an intercourse or the appearance of one between us, I was a good deal surprised on this occasion; but I learn that he has of late expressed more than common discontent and even declared his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy of the Vizier. If he really meditates such an intention, Sindhia will easily be able to divert him from it by holding forth hopes on which he has so long continued to feed him—possibly it is as much for the interest of the Company that he should continue with Sindhia as fly to the Vizier, as in that latter event the hopes and fears of the people at Benares regarding his restoration which have for some time been entirely allayed, might again be roused." (12)

The nature of Chait Singh's connection with Sindhia is described fully in the following letter of Jas. Anderson:—

"All the promises which Sindhia made of never suffering him to appear at his darbar either on public or private occasions, during the presence of the English Resident, and of his never being presented to the King have been faithfully adhered to. In other respects he has affected to pay him considerable attention; but there is every reason to believe that in this, so far as relates to us, he has been actuated by an improper motive. The truth is Chait Singh ever since his arrival in Camp, has been merely a subject of prey to Sindhia and his greedy dependents; and now that little or nothing is left to him, he finds that all their promises and professions have been vain and delusive. On this account he has of late expressed much dissatisfaction and has sometimes talked of quitting the camp. On these occasions, Sindhia has always taken means to soothe him with a number of hopes and assurances; and on these grounds, reports have been constantly propagated and believed in our provinces, of its being his intention to aid Chait Singh in his re-establishment at Benares. Intelligence of this kind has been at times conveyed to me from various channels, but I have thought it prudent not only to avoid any mention of the subject to Sindhia, but even to slight and dis-

(12) Jas. Anderson, to Governor-General, dated Sindhia's camp at Muttra 25th July, 1786.—*Secret Con.* 22nd August, 1786, No. 27.

In another letter, dated Agra 24th December, 1786, the then British Resident with Sindhia, Capt. W. Kirkpatrick, reported to the Governor-General as follows:—

"I conceive it proper to inform your Lordship, that a letter from Rajah Chait Singh was yesterday put into my hands, as I was passing through the town. As it had no seal I asked the bearer from whom he had received it, and though it is probable he had been otherwise instructed, he did not hesitate to acquaint me, upon which I returned it to him unopened."—*Secret Con.* 24th January, 1787, No. 9.

regard it entirely. I am willing to believe that by this means a difficulty has been avoided which by a different line of conduct might have been unnecessarily created. Chait Singh is now completely fallen and none has a more contemptible opinion of him than Sindhia. He knows that he is incapable even of being used as an instrument, and if ever he should dare to make an attempt on the province of Benares, it would be for himself and not for Chait Singh.

"I have been induced to be thus particular on this subject because it is possible that your Lordship may still hear reports of this kind. It is Chait Singh's interest to propagate them, and this he finds it not difficult to effect, from the easy credulity of the people and the means he possesses from some old connections in the provinces. As any solicitude however about these would give them a degree of weight to which they are not otherwise entitled, I am convinced it will be prudent to continue to overlook them entirely " (13).

Chait Singh gradually sank into insignificance and in January 1787 Cornwallis instructed the Resident Kirkpatrick to treat with indifference any attentions which might be shown to the Rajah at the Court of Sindhia:—

"Mr. Anderson was, I find, furnished with positive orders to demand and take his leave of Mahadji Sindhia in case he should introduced Chait Singh to the King. The circumstances which induced the necessity of such rigid injunctions are now changed, and I think it necessary to release your entirely from these orders. The protection originally granted by Sindhia to Chait Singh took place before we entered into any treaty with him and nothing can render Chait Singh of consequence but the anxiety we may manifest regarding him. It seems therefore advisable to treat with perfect indifference any attentions which may be shown to him. All that it is now necessary to exact is that he shall never be suffered to appear, either on public or private occasions, at the King's or Mahadji Sindhia's darbar in your presence (14).

On 19th July, 1787 Kirkpatrick reported from Fattehgarh as follows:—

"I am informed that Chait Singh has deputed one of his confidential servants named Ghulam Husain Khan to Lucknow for the purpose of meeting your Lordship." (15).

I have not found any further reference to Chait Singh in the Public Records. He died at Gwalior in 1810. (16).

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

(13) Jas Anderson to Governor-General Cornwallis, dated Muttra, 19th October, 1786.—*Secret Con.* 24th November, 1786, No. 6.

(14) Lord Cornwallis to Capt. Kirkpatrick,—Resident with Mahadji Sindhia. *Secret Con.* 24th January, 1787, No. 12.

(15) *Secret Proceedings* 28th August, 1787, p. 4248.

(16) Atkinson's *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, pt. 1, "Benares."

An Abandoned Port of the Sunderbuns.

(BASED ON THE RECORDS OF THE IMPERIAL RECORD
DEPARTMENT)

AMONG the many interesting facts which the old documents of the archives of the Imperial Record Department present to the historical students regarding the East India Company's trade in Bengal, few are, perhaps, more significant than the proposal of the Chamber of Commerce during the rule of Lord Dalhousie to shift "the centre of the Company's Bengal Commerce" from Calcutta to a far-off straggling village of the 24-Pargannas district, called Matla (1), situated on an outlandish river flowing through the wilds of the *Sunderbuns*. Though the records (2) of the eighteenth century shew that the position of the river Hughly "as a highway to the East India Company's commerce in Bengal" has not only been maintained but considerably improved ever since the foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock in 1690, yet, strange to say, a cry was raised towards the commencement of the rule of Lord Dalhousie that the river in question "was deteriorating and that at no distant date it would render access to Calcutta altogether impracticable for any but vessels of the smallest tonnage." Contrary to expectations, the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce also shared in this fear and they in the year 1853 addressed the Government of Lord Dalhousie on the urgency of establishing a new auxiliary port on the river Matla and linking this port with Calcutta by means of a railway or canal. Although Lord Dalhousie was wise enough not to participate in these imaginary fears yet, as a precautionary measure, he resolved to acquire land, for the proposed new port and for this purpose purchased in the year 1853, a big plot of land at the head of the Matla river on the west side, viz., the lot No. 54 of the *Sunderbuns Grants* for rupees 11,000 from the grantee, the whole comprising upwards of 25,000 bighas or 8,000 acres, of which one-seventh was cultivated, the remainder being uncleared jungle. About this time, the adjoining lot having lapsed to Government, a portion, consisting of 650 acres was reserved for building. A committee was appointed to survey and report on the site. Plans for laying out a town were submitted and a position was fixed upon for the terminus of a railway to connect this new port with Calcutta.

(1) Matla is a tongue of land, 24 miles S. E. of Calcutta, round which sweep the collected waters of the Bidyadhari, Karatoya and Athārābanka rivers, forming the Matla estuary, which then takes a fairly straight course southward to the Bay of Bengal.

(2) See Index to the press-lists of the Public Department Records, 1748-1800, p. 182.

As a preliminary to establishing a new town, efforts were made to people it with *ryots* and inhabitants. This was a tedious task and seems to have occupied about six years. The real work in connection with the new port was commenced in the year 1858 and it was named "Port Canning" after the name of Lord Canning—the then Viceroy of India, who, according to Marshman, "treated the whole project with supreme contempt." He, however, with much reluctance allowed this project to take its own course.

Matla port is named "Port Canning".

Records (3) inform us that in the month of March, 1859 the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir J. P. Grant, visited the site of the port. In the following elaborate minute he gives the full report of his visit:—

"Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (dated the 28th May, 1859).

Having visited the site of the proposed Town on the Matlah about three months ago, I take the opportunity of this Report to record, for communication to Mr. Leonard, the following observations and instructions.

Matlah Port.

2. At the time of my visit the whole lot on which the Town is to stand was protected from the salt water by an embankment, which, although of small height and section, I understand to be better than the ordinary *bund* of a *Sunderbans* grantee. The natural jungle where not cleared was consequently decaying throughout, and rice was to be sown over the jungle land in the approaching rainy season. A road 80 feet wide along the river face was in progress, which is intended also to serve as a permanent embankment, and another road from the river face running inland to join the District Ferry Fund Road which is intended to connect the town with Calcutta, was also in progress. One tank was completed and contained water which might fairly be termed brackish, and another tank, tiled throughout, was completed all except a part of the bottom tiling and contained water still quite salt. The building Lots taken along the river face were all marked out. There was a large Salt *golah* with nothing in it, which I believe never had been used but once.

3. On the water there was a large Custom House Ark with two Custom House Officers on board who had nothing to do; there was a Pilot in the same condition, the river was what seemed very well marked by buoys and there was a floating Light Vessel at the Mutlah Sand Reach of use to no one. The personal establishment for whose services there had been no use since the first unsatisfactory visit of a few ships seemed to me an expense prematurely incurred. I have therefore directed enquiries to be made as to whether there is any chance of a ship visiting the port this season, intending to propose the removal of the most expensive part of it until such progress is made on shore as may lead to a reasonable expectation of vessels again visiting the place. At present, in the absence of shelter,

or water or communication with Calcutta by land, I believe no ship-owner will send his vessel to the Mutlah.

4. Considering the difficulty of obtaining a large supply of labour on the spot and the uncertainty which existed until the other day when the Railway was guaranteed as to the ultimate prospects of the intended Port, though the work done on shore was not much, I do not know that there is much reason to complain of it. But the case is very different now that the Railway has been not only guaranteed but actually commenced. Every exertion must now be made by the officers of the Public Works Department to have all that Government has to do in the way of preparatory arrangements completed by the time when the Railway is expected to be opened which I believe may be calculated at two years hence.

5. It seems to me that the first point to be attended to is the provision of fresh water. There is an idea of laying down water pipes along the line of Railway from Calcutta or from above Calcutta to the new Port. I believe that nothing short of such a project will suffice to supply the shipping. But in the meantime a provision of fresh water tanks such as is requisite in every Soonderbuns lot is a matter of necessity. It is most essential that no more time should be lost in making so much of this provision as it may be resolved it is incumbent on Government to make in the shape of public tanks, for it takes years to sweeten the water of a new tank. In such a spot, where the whole surface of the country is awash at high water in Spring tides, tanks cannot be too large or too many, as the soil excavated is the only means by which the sites of the houses can be raised above the water line. I wish Mr. Leonard, to whom I have spoken on the subject, to commence as soon as possible next dry season, the excavation of a large oblong tank in the centre of the Plot reserved for the Customs House and Marine Buildings, the earth to be spread over the whole surface of the Plot. At the same time the other public tanks planned may be commenced upon as labour is available. I would increase the size of the tanks that are to form the centres of the squares from 200 to 300 feet. I should be glad to know if a steam pump, whereby the contents of the tanks could be changed oftener than once a year, and thereby the sweetening of the water could be sooner effected would not be useful employed here.

6. I beg Mr. Leonard to consider whether for the purpose of hastening the sweetening of the surface soil and on sanitary grounds, one of the first works next cold weather should not be a system of surface drainage with sluices to be opened at low water twice a day during the rains.

7. The work next in urgency is the completion of the road that is to communicate with Calcutta. Neither the public nor the private preparations which must be made before the Railway is opened, can be satisfactorily made till this road is passable throughout. After the Railway is opened the road will still have its full value as it will be a means of communication between the stations on the line and the country on its borders.

8. An early object should be the securing of the site of the Town against an irruption of salt water during a cyclone. I beg for a well considered report on the vertical height and sectional area of an embankment

which shall give the requisite security against such a calamity so far as scientific and historical enquiry may enable us to form a judgment.

9. A temporary bungalow on the Custom House Plot, a provision of iron tanks to be kept regularly supplied by wholesome fresh water from a distance, and the encouragement of a little *bazar*, to which I suppose nothing will tend more than an arrangement for the gratuitous supply of wholesome water, seem to me all objects worthy of Mr. Leonard's early attention."

From the aforesaid report of the Lieutenant-Governor it will be evident that His Honour, in order to make Port Canning a success, laid great emphasis on two points, *viz.*, (1) Provision for a good and sufficient supply of fresh water and (2) Completion of the highway from Calcutta to this new port which road, as will appear from the records, was already taken in hand in the year 1856. It is interesting to note (4) that to carry out the first object the Government of Bengal sanctioned very soon after the Lieutenant-Governor's visit to Matla a sum of rupees 16,000 for the excavation of two tanks there, each 500 feet long, 300 feet wide and about 8 feet deep. It will further appear from the papers that the charge of the contractor for digging these water reservoirs was five rupees per 1000 feet. The following letter (4) will throw much light on this point:—

"From

RIVERS THOMPSON, Esq.,

Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

To

The Offg. Secretary to the Government of India,

P. W. Department,
Municipal,
Water Supply.

Public Works Department,

Fort William, the 15th August, 1859.

Sir,

In soliciting the sanction of the Government of India to an expenditure of Rupees (16,000) sixteen thousand, as shown in the enclosed Statement, on account of two Tanks at Mutlah, the Lieutenant-Governor desires me to submit the following observations regarding the necessity of the work proposed.

2. A reference to the accompanying copy of a Minute*, recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor after a recent visit to the Matlah Port, will show His Honour's views as to the urgency of providing, among other immediate wants in connection with the opening of the Railway to Mutlah, for a good and sufficient supply of water at this new Station by means of Public Tanks.

3. Considering the difficulty of procuring labour at the spot, and the delay which might attend the prosecution of the work through the usual

(4) P. W. D., O. C. 9 Sept. 1875 No. 1 (and enclosures).

course, the Lieutenant-Governor desired Mr. Leonard, with whom His Honor had spoken on the subject, to commence upon the excavation of such Tanks, as soon as possible, next working season.

4. Mr. Leonard in his capacity of Superintendent of Mutlah Town and Port, now reports that he has entered into a contract for the completion of one large Tank, on terms which he pronounces very favourable; and that, another Contractor having offered on about similar terms, he thinks nothing better can be done than to engage with this man for the second. He estimates the cost of each tank at from 6,000 to 8,000 Rupees.

5. Under these circumstances, the Lieutenant-Governor has sanctioned the amount mentioned in the 1st paragraph of this letter; and trusts that as a special case, it may receive the approval of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) RIVERS THOMPSON.

Junior Secretary to the Governor of Bengal."

5. In connection with the excavation of the tanks in question it was found that the waters which were first stored were salt and unfit for human consumption. So to sweeten and purify the water, Hugh Leonard, the then Superintendent of the Matla port, sent an emergent indent to the Government for the supply of one "No. 4 Gwynne's Centrifugal Pump" attached to a horse power Locomotive engine. The Government agreed to the proposal and sent the indent to England for compliance.

Scheme for
sweetening the salt
waters of the Port
Canning tanks.

6. The following extracts (5) from the records amply repay perusal in connection with Mr. Leonard's scheme for sweetening and purifying salt waters of the above mentioned tanks:—

Extracts from the letter from HUGH LEONARD, Esq., Executive Engineer, Matlah Division, to the Superintending Engineer, 1st Circle, Lower Provinces,—(No. 20, dated the 21st July, 1859).

"Para 2. The water first caught in Tanks dug at the Matlah in salt ground, and void of any fresh water springs or other supply, unless the rain collected from the salt surface, is very salty when the Tank is first filled. The rain falling on the surface and in the Tank washes out some of the salt, and so the water caught in the second season is fresher than that caught in the first. The third season's water is again fresher and so it goes on impuring (sic), so that after three or four years it is generally tolerably good."

" Para 3. If the salt water caught in the tank in the commencement of the rains be at once pumped out, allow the Tank to fill again, again pump it out and so on as often as it may fill, it is thought that as much may be done in one year towards sweetening the water in the Tank as would be done in two or three by letting it fill and evaporate in the usual way. This principle being recognised by the Lieutenant-Governor, he has ordered an Indent to be sent in for a Pump."

The following letter (6), quoted from the records, will supply much information regarding the highroad, for the construction of which the Lieutenant-Governor shewed so much concern in his report of Matla of the 28th May, 1839 (given before).

" From

E. H. Lushington, Esq.,

Offg. Junior Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal,

To

The Secretary to the Govt. of India,

Public Works,
Communications,
Metalled Roads.

Public Works Department,

Fort William, the 25th July, 1859.

Sir,

I am directed to solicit the permission of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council to treat the Road from Calcutta to the Mutlah Port as an *Imperial Road*.

2. This Road was first commenced under the orders of this Government in 1856, when 8,517 Rupees were sanctioned towards its construction from the Convict Labor Fund, and such land directed to be taken as might be found to be requisite under Act X to II of 1850, the Act then in force for such purposes.

3. Since that time further sums have been advanced for this work from the Ferry Fund and Convict Labor Fund, and by these means the Road, so far as the earth-work is concerned, has been completed for the whole distance. The work yet remaining to be done is the metalling of the Road from Barripore to the Mutlah (up to that point the Road as the Barripore Road was formerly metalled and is now in good order); the bridging of the Goar Nuddie; and the construction of a proper Ghaut over the Pialee Nuddie; but in consequence of other heavy demands on the two Funds above referred to, there are not only no means forthcoming to carry out these works, but there are none to pay the amount of compensation for the value of the land adverted to in paragraph 2, which has been reported by the Board to be Company's Rs. 5,210-3-0.

4. Apart, however, from this question of want of money, it appears to the Lieut.-Governor that this Road should not be considered as a District Road, but as an Imperial line. The District is not so much benefitted by it as the Port of the Mutlah. The Road is indeed indispensable at present,

and it will be little less useful after the Railway is made as leading to the several Stations. Still it is a Road that would never have been made for merely District objects.

5. Under these circumstances, the Lieutenant-Governor trusts that this application to make the Road an *Imperial* one will meet with His Excellency's sanction, and that authority may at once be given to the payment of the sum of Rupees 5,210-3-0 by the State, for the land for the Road already adverted to.

6. Pending the orders of the Supreme Government on this subject, I am desired to add that the Road has been made over to the Charge of the Executive Engineer Mr. O'Flaherty, who is engaged in preparing Estimates for the work mentioned in paragraph (3).

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) E. H. LUSHINGTON,

Offg. Junior Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal."

It further appears from the papers that three years after the Lieutenant-Governor's inspection of the site of this port, the provisions of the Municipal Act were extended to the town in June 1862 and in the 1863 the whole of the Government proprietary right in the land was made over to the Municipality, in trust for the town of Canning, subject to the control of Government, which reserved to itself the right to take up any land that might be required for public purposes such as a railway station, public offices, etc. Rules were also passed empowering the Commissioners to grant leases and to borrow money on the security of the land but the Government itself decline to advance any loan.

The expenditure necessary for the various works, such as, the cost of laying out and draining the town, constructing roads and protecting the river frontage, etc., was estimated at upwards of 20 lakhs and the Municipality in November, 1863 with the sanction of Government opened a loan of 10 lakhs of rupees upon debentures at 5.5 per cent interest repayable in five years. The public, however, subscribed only rupees 265,000.

In the year 1864—a year of speculative mania—Mr. Ferdinand Schiller, one of the Municipal Commissioners proposed to form a Company to be known as "the Port Canning Land investment, reclamation, and Dock Company" which would develop the port and offered to subscribe 2.5 lakhs to the Municipal debenture loan in return for certain concessions.

The proposal having been accepted by Government, the Port Canning Company received the gift of 100 acres of ground freehold in the centre

of the town, and also the exclusive right for 50 years of constructing tramways, wharves and jetties and of levying tolls in connection therewith. Mr. Schiller also undertook on the part of himself and his assignees—(1) to excavate within two years a dock 2,500 feet in length by 200 feet in width and 10 feet in depth on the assigned land; (2) to provide for the conservation and protection of the river bank along the entire length of the Commissioner's property facing the Matla river; (3) to pay the Commissioners one-third of all profits from these works exceeding 10 per cent. The right of purchasing the completed works at original cost at the expiration of fifty years was reserved to the Municipality; and in the event of non-purchase, an extension of the term for another twenty-five years was stipulated. These terms were agreed to by Government and the payment of the loan of £25,000 to the Municipality was made in March, 1865. The Company started work vigorously, laying down lightships, moorings, buoys etc. Its shares, which were issued in 1865, rose to a high figure, but they fell as rapidly as they rose, for it was soon realised that the sanguine expectations of the promoters were not likely to be fulfilled.

In March, 1866, the Government of India consented to a loan of £45,000 on security of the property of the Municipality without interest, repayable in five years, for which debentures were issued bearing dates from April, 1866, to August, 1868. Under the conditions of commutation mentioned above, debentures to the extent of £33,800 were converted for lands.

In the meantime the prospectus of the Port Canning company had been issued in January, 1865, accompanied by an announcement that the share list was closed. The shares rose in value at an unprecedented rate, till they attained a premium of £1,200 in Bombay and £1,000 in Calcutta. It was soon found, however, that the expectations of speculators were not likely to be realized and the shares fell as rapidly as they had risen. Subsequently, disputes arose between the Directors and the Shareholders—the result being that the management of the Company was transferred to other hands.

A dispute also took place between the Company and the Municipality. The former made an application to Commute £25,000 of Municipal Debentures which it held, into land. But the deeds were not executed, although the lots were assigned; and the commutation was deferred till maturity of the debentures and payment of a quit-rent, equivalent to the interest was agreed on. In 1868, when affairs definitely assumed an unfavourable aspect, the Company endeavoured to repudiate the transaction, and brought an action against the Municipality for payment of £2,700 interest on the debentures. The latter resisted the claim, on the ground that the company had agreed to commute the debentures for certain lands in the town of Canning. The Company gained the suit in the first instance; but on appeal the order was reversed and the commutation was declared to be valid. The Company, however, have not entered into possession of their lands, and an appeal is said to have been preferred to the Privy

Council in England. In 1870, the Secretary of the Company addressed Government urging upon it the duty of redeeming the debentures which the Municipality had failed to meet. The Government, in reply, declined to do so. Thus the whole of the Canning Port Municipal Estate was attached and made over to the Collector of the 24 Parganas, who was appointed Manager.

Improvements of the town by the Port Canning Company. The following were the principal works undertaken and executed either partially or completely by the Canning Company started by F. Schiller to improve the port:—

(1) A wet dock, 3,500 by 400 feet for the accommodation of country boats.

(2) The protection from erosion of the Matla foreshore.

(3) Seven landing wharves and iron jetties, each capable of accommodating two ships at a time.

(4) Goods Sheds and tramways in connection with the jetties.

(5) A "gridiron" and graving dock for repairing vessels.

(6) The rice mills, constructed on an extensive scale, capable of husking and turning out about 90,000 tons of rice a year.

Number of ships which visited the port. The number of ships that visited the port since its opening in 1861-2 down to the year 1870-71 (the closing year of this port) was as follows:—

| Year. | | | Ships. |
|-------------|-----|-----|--------|
| (a) 1861-2 | ... | ... | none. |
| (b) 1862-3 | ... | ... | 1 |
| (c) 1863-4 | ... | ... | 11 |
| (d) 1864-5 | ... | ... | 14 |
| (e) 1865-6 | ... | ... | 26 |
| (f) 1866-7 | ... | ... | 20 |
| (g) 1867-8 | ... | ... | 9 |
| (h) 1868-9 | ... | ... | 1 |
| (i) 1869-70 | ... | ... | 2 |
| (j) 1870-1 | ... | ... | none. |

Thus it will be evident from the above list of the arrivals of the vessels at the Canning port that since the year 1870, no sea-going ships have anchored at this place; and the arrivals of 1867-8 may be looked upon as the last response of the Mercantile Community to the endeavours made by the Port Canning Company to raise this town to the position of a port auxiliary to Calcutta.

We further find from the papers that the Port Canning Establishment has, all along, been a heavy and unprofitable charge to Government. In 1869-70, the cost of this port amounted to £15,700 while the receipts were only £1,134. This was

Port Canning proves a big failure.

exclusive of the charges for special survey and arsenal stores. Considering the hopeless position of this port, the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir G. Campbell, in June 1871, recommended that the earliest opportunity should

The port closed. be taken of officially closing the port and withdrawing the establishments, with the exception of the light vessel outside which might be of use to ships from the eastward and might occasionally guide a weather-beaten vessel to a safe anchorage. These recommendations were adopted and shortly afterwards the Government moorings were taken up and the port officially was declared closed. Gradually after the year 1871, Port Canning fell into rapid decay. The Commissioner of the *Sunderbuns* in a report dated the 10th April, 1873 writes:—"With the exception of the Agent and others employed by the new Port Canning Land Company and a *dâk munshi*, no one lives at Canning."

The line of railway connecting Port Canning with Calcutta, 28 miles distant, proved a failure from the very outset. Upon the collapse of the Company it was taken over by Government as a State line. It is still worked, but on a very economical scale; its traffic now consists almost solely of firewood, bamboos and fish from the *Sunderbuns*.

Canning railway is also a failure. Thus the chimerical project of establishing a flourishing port within the heart of the *Sunderbuns* wilderness, which would beat Calcutta in maritime prosperity, ended in a well-deserved fiasco within 18 years after its inception.

BASANTA KUMAR BASU,

Imperial Record Dep., Calcutta.

The Colours of some Mutinous Bengal Regiments.

WHAT happened to the colours of the hundred or so units of the Bengal Army which mutinied in 1857?

To answer this question is difficult if not impossible. It seems to have received little consideration; and it is safe to say that the fate of the majority of the stands of colours of the mutinous regiments will never now be definitely ascertained. Records exist of certain colours having been recaptured from the mutineers; and some of these may have passed into private hands as trophies. It is remarkable that mutinous units continued to carry their colours after they seceded: one would suppose that they would have discarded these emblems of the authority of the British and of the Company. Colonel Gimlette's recent book—*A Postscript to the Records of the Indian Mutiny* (1)—contains several incidental references to the loss or recovery of such colours.

The author had seen some colours in the Arsenal at Khatmandu, where he was stationed from 1883 to 1888. He says that the Nepalese authorities passed these off as having been captured from the British forces in the Nepal War of 1814; but gives no further details of them. With the publication of the late Percival Landon's monumental and semi-official work on *Nepal* (2), however, a more positive identification of these colours is possible. Landon describes and identifies four colours or stands of colours, and describes a fifth colour of which the identity is far from positive. As regards this last colour the present writer will put forward a rather more definite suggestion as to its identification. The four colours of which the provenance is undoubted are as follows:—

3rd Bengal Native Infantry.

This unit mutinied at Phillaur on 8 June 1857; and its remnants were annihilated at Bijapur, near Guna, on 4 September 1858. How its colour got from Central India to Khatmandu is therefore difficult to explain. It is the Company's colour alone which is in the Arsenal Museum there—"a yellow flag with the Union Jack cantoned" in the upper left hand corner. "The arms of the H. E. I. C. are encircled by a wreath, above which are the words 'Buxar Regt. Native Inf.' Below are the honours 'Guzerat, Punjab', given 'For services performed in the West of India.'

The disposal of the regimental colour of this battalion is a mystery.

(1) London, Witherby, 1927.

(2) London, Constable, 2 Vols., 1928.

48th Bengal Native Infantry.

This was one of the regiments which fought both outside and inside the Lucknow Residency, the majority having mutinied and the loyal minority doing sterling service in the defence of the Residency. The mutinous portion joined the Nana Sahib.

Both its colours are now in Khatmandu, and are fully described by Landon. The *Queen's* colour (*sic*—obviously the Company's colour) is a square or nearly square Union Jack, bearing in the centre a square plaque with the words

| | | |
|-------------|--------------|---------|
| 1803 | Ghuznee | XLVIII |
| Afghanistan | Moodkee | Alliwal |
| | Ferozeshuhur | |

The regimental colour is a yellow flag " similar to the Colour of the 3rd B. N. I. described above.

It is safe to say that this stand of colours must have accompanied the straggling remnants of the Nana's following, and have eventually been taken by the Nepalese in the Terai.

8th Regiment Infantry, Oudh Irregular Force.

Mutinied at Sultanpur, 9 June 1857; fought against the British at Chinhut, and took part in the siege of Lucknow. According to Landon, there is in Khatmandu " a white flag, . . . of rectangular shape. In the upper left-hand corner there is a canton of the Union Jack. In the centre is a wreath enclosing the arms of the H. E. I. C. Within the wreath are the words " Oude Irregular Infantry," and above the wreath the number ' VIIIth '."

This is of course the regimental colour. The fate of the Company's colour—if indeed the infantry of the Oudh Irregular Force possessed Company's colours—is unknown. There is no evidence as to how this colour got to Khatmandu.

5th Infantry, Gwalior Contingent.

There is little on record regarding this battalion, one of the seven in the Contingent, which comprised all arms. It apparently mutinied at Agar, in Gwalior State, in 1857. Both its colours are in Khatmandu, and are fully described by Landon.

The unidentified colour, of which mention has already been made, is a regimental colour, of green silk, with no other aid to identification. The silk now existing has obviously been renewed in Nepal, and no importance can therefore be attached to the exact shade of green. Landon, by a process of elimination of the mutinous infantry units which bore green facings of one shade or another, comes to the conclusion that it belonged to one or another of the following battalions—6th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 23rd, 28th, 29th, 38th, 45th, 46th, 51st, 52nd, 60th regiments of Bengal Native Infantry, or the Ludhiana Sikhs. He does not pursue the question further. The present writer has followed up the history of each of these battalions, and offers the following remarks.

It is suggested that the 28th and 45th B. N. I. may be eliminated. The colours of the 28th, B. N. I. were, according to Colonel Gimlette, found wrapped round the dead body of a mutinous subedar on the battlefield of Mannahar, 20 April 1858. The colours of the 45th B. N. I. were thrown away, after the battalion had mutinied on the march between Faridkot and Delhi, 14 May 1857. As regards only one other of the possible regiments is there any positive record of their colours after they had mutinied—the 10th B. N. I. laid its colours at the feet of the Nawab of Farrukhabad, presumably as an act of fealty. Nothing more was ever heard of the unit or its colours,—so the possibility of the Khatmandu flag being that of the 10th B. N. I. cannot entirely be dismissed, though it is remote.

It is extremely improbable that the colour could be that of the 51st B. N. I., which was disarmed at Peshawar and never actually mutinied; or of the 60th which was broken up at Karnal at the end of August 1857. Of the remainder, the 7th B. N. I. entirely disappeared and nothing is known of its fate; the 13th like the 48th fought both inside and outside Lucknow, and from the circumstances of its partial mutiny it is at least possible that it handed in its colours before breaking up; the 23rd seems to have joined the Indore Brigade but history is vague as to its end. The 29th B. N. I. fought in the Rohilkhand Brigade inside Delhi; the 38th was cut up at Badli-ki-Sarai; the 46th was annihilated by Nicholson in July '57; and the 52nd, which mutinied at Jubbulpore, fought in Central India. No question, so far as the writer knows, has ever been raised of the Ludhiana Sikhs having lost their regimental colour in the Mutiny.

There remains the 6th B. N. I. of which it is definitely recorded that its last remnants were cut up on the Nepal Frontier in 1858. This is thus the only one of the units to which the Khatmandu colour may have belonged which is known to have come to an end in the actual vicinity of Nepal. There is no evidence which would warrant the ascription of the Khatmandu colour to any particular regiment. The writer contends that the 28th, 45th, 51st, and 60th B. N. I. may be eliminated from the problem; and of those which remain to be considered the superior probability is in favour of the 6th B. N. I. But in the absence of evidence, any more definite ascription would be mere surmise.

13th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutinied (in part) at Lucknow in 1857. Its colours were not carried off by the mutineers. The loyal remnants of the battalion were, with others, formed after the Mutiny into the *Wafedar paltan*, which as the "17th Infantry (The Loyal Regiment)" was finally disbanded in 1922.

The colours came to light about 1920 in the former Bridgehead Defended Post at Cawnpore (since 1862 the Harness and Saddlery Factory), where they still are. They are about 5 ft. by 6 ft. 6 ins., and are in a very dilapidated condition. The Queen's colour is of the ordinary pattern, whilst the Regimental colour is of green silk, bearing the Royal Arms in the centre surrounded by the battle honours "Mysore", "Punjab", "Guzerat", and "Goojerat".

Authority: information kindly supplied by Lieut.-Col. L. C. Larmour.

51st Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

Disarmed for mutiny at Peshawar on 22 May 1857. Its colours were lodged in the Peshawar magazine some time after 29 August 1857, but their present whereabouts is not known.

Authority: *Mutiny Records, Correspondence, Part II, Lahore Govt. Press, 1911, p. 43.*

55th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutinied at Nowshera in May 1857, and marched away from the station taking their colours with them. The colours were recaptured on 24 May 1857 near Hoti Mardan by a column under the command of Colonel J. Chute. Their present location is not known.

Authority: *Mutiny Records, Correspondence, Part I, Lahore Govt. Press, 1911, pp. 71, 87-88.*

56th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

This regiment (with two others) lost its colours at the battle of Gujerat on 21 February 1849. One of them was recaptured later in the battle by Sepoy Raghunath Dube of the Grenadier Company of the 70th B. N. I. (now —1929—the 5th Bn. 7th Rajput Regt.), and handed back to the 56th. Their present location is not known.

Authority: *Historical Records of the XI Rajputs, Allahabad, 1913.*

71st Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutinied at Lucknow in May 1857. Its colours were recaptured on 16 November 1857, at the Sinkandrabagh, Lucknow, by the 93rd Highlanders. Their present location is not known.

Authority: *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny, by Wm. Forbes Mitchell, London, 1894.*

Information regarding the present resting-place of other colours of mutinous Bengal regiments is asked for.

H. BULLOCK.

A Proposal for the establishment of an Improved system of Telegraphic Com- munication, by Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald of the E. I. Coy.'s Military Service.

From papers in the possession of his great-great-granddaughter
Mrs. A. C. Robertson (1).

THE great war against the French Republic, and against Napoleon Bonaparte brought very acutely before the minds of naval and military men the necessity of inventing some method for the rapid transmission of messages. Signalling has from early times been a study of mankind: some savage communities possess methods of accurate and long distance communication which are not understood by communities far better mentally equipped, for instance the drumming signals of the African tribes: these and similar methods are known to every one who reads the histories and records of travellers. In Europe, at the close of the eighteenth-century signalling had not progressed beyond the stage of semaphores, and even the semaphore system in use laboriously spelt out words. The navy had a system of flag signalling which was in advance of the system used on land and of which the chief feature was the use of a code: it will be remembered that "England" was substituted for "Nelson" in the famous Trafalgar signal because there was a code flag for England, whereas "Nelson" would have required spelling out by flags.

Among the officers who were working at the close of the 19th century on improving the signalling system were Admiral Sir Home Popham, and Lieut.-Colonel John Macdonald of the East India Company's service.

By the kindness of Colonel Macdonald's great-great-granddaughter I have been able to see the correspondence in which this officer tried to obtain recognition, not only by the Company, but by almost every Government in Europe of his system of telegraphy. It is interesting to note that Colonel Macdonald's book is called "Telegraphic Communication," although the use of electricity for telegraphic purposes was not at that time understood in Europe.

(1) Cf. Also Imperial Record Dept. General Letters of July 1st, September 10th, and October 26th, 1818.

Imperial Gazetteer Vol. III, p. 437 (note).

Bengal: Past & Present, Vol. II, No. 3, July 1908.

"Places of Historic Interest in the Hooghly Dist."

Colonel Macdonald, who retired from the Company's Service in 1797, had been Chief Engineer and Commandant of Artillery at Sumatra. He was a man of considerable scientific attainments and was a Fellow of the Royal Society as well as belonging to other scientific associations. He had an inventive turn of mind and invented a system of fuses for artillery purposes that received much attention and was tested by the order of the Master-General of Ordnance, at Woolwich before a Board of General and Field Officers of the Royal Artillery, but the system was rejected. He was also interested in music.

In 1806 Colonel Macdonald submitted to the Admiralty "a project of a telegraphic system," to use his own words. It did not attract favourable attention so Colonel Macdonald published a treatise on telegraphic communication and to "evince the practicability and facility of his system he wrote two dictionaries, one of which lies at the Admiralty, the other at the House Guards." These "dictionaries" or codes, as we should now call them were accompanied by various models by means of which, with the assistance of the "dictionaries" experiments could be made to test or demonstrate the efficacy of the system. Lord Mulgrave who was First Lord of the Admiralty under Lord Liverpool referred the matter to Mr. Barrow, a distinguished scientist, who declared the system of Colonel John Macdonald to be by much the best of more than fifty submitted to the Admiralty and that the "dictionary" would supply a very marked want. Mr. Barrow wrote as follows. "Southampton, 1st September 1814. Dear Sir. . . I have no hesitation in saying that your system of telegraphic communications embraces everything that can possibly be desired and much more than we have any occasion for it its application to Naval purposes, as far as the Admiralty is concerned: but I think it will be found most admirably adapted for carrying on a correspondence between the interior frontier line of India and the several Presidencies; and it has very frequently occurred to me that such lines of communication would be of infinite use to give timely notice of unexpected or sudden movements of the neighbouring Powers" Similar approval was received from the Adjutant-General of the Army, and the system was explained by the inventor when he exhibited it to H.R.H. the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief.

Previous to these marks of approval by the military and naval authorities, the system had been brought to the notice of the East India Company in 1811 by one of the Directors. The Court of Directors instructed the Committee of Shipping, assisted by certain co-opted experts to examine it. Colonel Macdonald on many occasions explained in person to this Committee how his system work, giving actual experiments: the result of these sittings was a somewhat guarded expression of approval by the Committee, worded as follows.

East India House, 20th June, 1811.

Sir, the Committee of Shipping of the East India Company have directed me to express their thanks for the explanation you favoured them

with respecting your invention of boarded telegraphs for land communication and to acquaint you that the Committee consider the same very ingenious and appearing in their judgment to possess great advantages over the common telegraph.

(Sd.) J. MORRICE.

The system was apparently opposed by Mr. Joseph Cotton, at one time Chairman of the Board of Directors. Mr. Cotton preferred the system invented or improved by a Captain Lynes, and he used his great influence with the Board to obtain the adoption of this system. Colonel Macdonald felt that Mr. Cotton had not dealt very fairly with him and his correspondence shows that this view was shared by others, notably Sir McGregor Murray. The naval telegraphic plan for which Mr. Cotton succeeded in obtaining the Company's patronage was, according to Colonel Macdonald's view, a much inferior system unsupported by any of the impressive commendations which he had obtained for his own. A somewhat caustic correspondence between Mr. Cotton and Colonel Macdonald ensued in which Colonel Macdonald appears to have had distinctly the best of the argument, but, in his own words, "it was found indispensably necessary to terminate the correspondence as the Chairman (Mr. Cotton) either would not or could not reply to it;" but he fired a parting shot in a letter to Mr. W. F. Elphinstone in which he points out that the Company's Committee of Shipping had approved of his system and that the Chairman was deliberately ignoring the recorded opinion of the Committee whose opinion should naturally carry the most weight in deciding on matters of such a nature, and that "Mr. Cotton, the avowed patron of a publication which has deprived me of a clean right, will find himself egregiously mistaken if he thinks that I am to be intimidated into a duty that I owe to my own reputation and to the Public, independent of the decided justice of my claims." So the old warrior was left, firing his guns to the last, and evidently making a great nuisance of himself, to judge from the mass of non-committal acknowledgments which he received from various eminent people to whom he sent copies of his book. These included most of the Crowned heads of Europe, including the Kings of Prussia, Spain, France and the Netherlands, as well as various Foreign Ambassadors: among the English notabilities who received and acknowledged copies were H.R.H. the Duke of York, Lords Mulgrave, Bathurst, Liverpool Melville, Castlereagh, the Dukes of Portland, and Buckingham, Sir Charles Wood, Sir Home Popham, Sir Richard Bickerton, etc., the collection of papers making a fine array of autographs of some of the most distinguished figures in a great period of English history. According to Colonel Macdonald (2) he worked for nearly a year, for 8 hours daily, on his "dictionary," during which he had "gone twice over Johnson's large dictionary with a close attention."

(2) Col. Macdonald seems to have been the first man to see the necessity of a code; although our system of code flags had been in use for some time in the Navy.

We must now turn to the "Dictionary," of which a copy exists in the Imperial Library in Calcutta, and most readers will feel some sympathy for Mr. Joseph Cotton's attitude towards the scheme which he was called upon to examine for it was extremely complicated: the preface to the book, however, concluded with a paragraph which will find a grateful echo in the hearts of all Government Servants in India: "Early habits of application and study" it states, "render your civil and military servants in India a very superior description of men, as is sufficiently evinced by the integrity and ability marking their conduct, by a multiplicity of works distinguished by profound thought, deep knowledge, lucid arrangement and elegant diction." With this satisfactory opinion of himself and his colleagues Lieut.-Colonel John Macdonald proceeds to explain his system.

He saw quite rightly that the process of spelling by semaphore was "a creeping, operose and tedious process," to use his own words. A numerical system was therefore the best basis on which to work, and to attempt improvement. But, in his desire, to provide for all possible eventualities, Colonel Macdonald overloaded his system of semaphoric telegraphy to an extent that made it hardly less tedious than signalling by letters. It had to be accompanied by a code book twice the size of any code book now in existence divided up into a series of numerical classes, which were in turn again divided numerically until the very object for which telegraphy exists namely, the rapid transmission of information, was cramped by the very intricate rules that accompanied the new method. Colonel Macdonald also invented what he called the military anthropeo-telegraph for field service, which seems to have been, inspite of its cumbersome name, a valuable method on which the present system of "flag-wagging" is based. The necessity of signalling by night was not forgotten, and Colonel Macdonald contrived to make this even more complicated than his methods of signalling by day. The night system required the erection of many pillars, each representing a numerical class. Those who are interested in the study of early telegraphic systems will find it well worth their time to consult and study the book in which Colonel Macdonald sets forth his theories and inventions: its full title is "a treatise explanatory of a new system of naval, military, and political telegraphic communication, of general application.

"By John Macdonald, Esq., F.R.S., F.Ac.S., late Lieut.-Colonel and Engineer."

As has been said, the system was refused by the East India Company much to the chagrin and annoyance of its inventor who, rightly or wrongly, considered that its rejection was due to Mr. Joseph Cotton's influence. He was not however discouraged, and in 1818 he wrote a long letter to the Earl of Liverpool, then Prime Minister of England, urging him to use his influence to have the system adopted at the Admiralty, and explains at great length its superiority over any other system. The letter closes in a curious manner, by suddenly referring to a subject which has, even in a most indirect

way, only the faintest connection with signalling and telegraphy: the passage is as follows:

"In looking over copies of my various letters to your Lordship I find that in July 1815 I used the freedom of recommending the island of St. Hilda as a more secure place of confinement for Bonaparte than St. Helena. A considerable residence in the latter island while waiting for a passage convinced me of the easy probability of escape from it. If ever this is attempted, it will be by the French in his interests and (3) who are, now, residing in America. The undertaking would be daring but not of very difficult execution. The vessels intended for the purpose would be provided with a steam apparatus. This would enable a considerable Force employed to land simultaneously and with an allowed loss, in several places. The future disturber of the Peace of Europe might easily be thus rescued by a coup de main; while our Naval Force on the Station *could not move*, and while the Military stationed on the higher ground, at a great distance from the Valley (sic) of Government, would be utterly unable to cope with the invaders. Man is an animal of habits, be they good or be they bad. A great majority of the present generation in France are attached to this Scourge of Europe. His appearance in France would renovate all the horrors which are past. Every possible argument is in favour of removing him to St. Hilda, from which escape would be utterly impossible, as the island is not assailable or in any way practicable for a landing in force. I have explained this serious subject to intelligent men who know both situations, and they perfectly coincide with me in my opinion."

The rest of the story of this invention is best told in the appended letters: no one who reads through the correspondence will fail to feel sympathy with this pertinacious and public-spirited officer in his attempts to obtain recognition for the device which he convinced himself was for the benefit of his country: at the same time the sighs of weariness which his handwriting obviously evoked in the Public Offices can almost be said to cling to the correspondence which his descendant, Mrs. A. C. Robertson, has so kindly permitted me to examine.

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

APPENDED LETTERS.

I.

Sir,

Having laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your letter advising the delivery of fifty copies of your general system of Telegraphic Communication, I have to acquaint you that agreeably to the intimation conveyed to you in my letters of the 9th April 1816, a warrant

(3) This sentence is given as it stands; its meaning is obvious, but the wording is obscure.

for the sum of four hundred pounds now lies in the Company's Treasury payable to you on account of the said publication.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,
JAMES COBB, Secy.—.

EAST INDIA HOUSE;
The 10th May 1817.

COLONEL JAMES MACDONALD.

II.

"Extract.—Public letter to Bengal, dated the 3rd September 1817.

5. Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald formerly of our Military Service having composed a work describing a general system of telegraphic communications, which has been approved of by persons of consideration here, we thought it right to encourage him to print the work, and having received from him a certain number of copies of it, we now transmit them to our different Presidencies that they may come under the observation of Men whose employment or studies have led them to the consideration of subjects of that nature, and we desire to be informed of the benefit which may be derived from them by our service.

6. You will receive 70 copies of the work together with one set of the models described in the work and intended to exemplify the principles of it."

" Sent per licensed ship Monarch, 6th September 1817."

The books duly arrived, and were acknowledged by the General Dept. of the Company in a letter, dated July 1st, 1818, the copies being distributed to the various branches of the Military Department. The models of the semaphores were acknowledged in a letter, dated September 10th, 1818, and were sent to the Telegraphic Committee for a detailed report on their merits, both as compared with the system then in use and with other models recommended to the Company.

The Telegraphic Committee submitted their report on October 26th, 1818; it is a lengthy and exhaustive document which commences with a history of semaphoring from the earliest times. This report, though signed and submitted by the Telegraph Committee, was really written by Captain G. Swiney, the Secretary of the Committee; an officer, I imagine, after Colonel Macdonald's own heart, being as enthusiastic on the subject and prolix upon paper as the Colonel himself.

The gist of the report was that Colonel Macdonald's semaphore was an unnecessarily large instrument, unfit for the country; its construction was such that the wings, shutters and pulleys employed were very liable to be affected by the action of heat and moisture. Moreover it was too complicated in design; the first requisite of a good telegraphic system was to establish and put into use "an apparatus of a nature so simple as to render the

chances of embarrassment very improbable," in other words, Government wanted a simple, fool-proof instrument, impervious to the action of weather, and easily worked by Indian troops. The report was therefore unfavourable "to the establishment of Colonel Macdonald's system but his publication must be admitted to contain much useful information and his invaluable dictionary in particular, if adopted to a different system of Enumeration would prove of the most essential service."

III.

The last letter is terser and less complimentary. It runs as follows:
Admiralty, 8th February 1819.

Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant in which you suggest that you should be authorised to examine and report upon all the plants which have been received at the Admiralty Office respecting Telegraphic Communication. Having no reason to suppose that the Public Service would be benefitted by such an examination, I do not feel myself at liberty to recommend to the Board of Admiralty a compliance with your suggestion.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,
MELVILLE.

R. B. R.

More Hastings Letters.

A FRESH batch of letters from Warren Hastings were published in *The Times* of December 12, 1928. These are four in number and were all written during the year 1776. Along with them were printed two letters from Sir Archibald Campbell, who had been Chief Engineer at Calcutta—"a situation of prodigious emolument," according to William Hickey (Vol. II, p. 157)—from 1768 to 1772 and returned to England in the latter year. The recipient in each case was John Stewart who had been "employed under one of the principal Secretaries of State and entrusted with affairs of the most confidential kind" up to the year 1768 when he seems to have gone out to Calcutta (1). He became Secretary to the Council at Fort William, and in a letter written on November 11, 1772 to Laurence Sullivan, his confidant on the Court of Directors (and Clive's old antagonist) Hastings mentions the fact: "Stewart has possession of his place as Secretary and is of great relief to me." In the same year, however, Hastings created the office of Judge Advocate General, and Stewart, whom he appointed to it, held it from 1773 to 1776, when he left India.

Campbell who married Stewart's niece (the daughter of Allen Ramsay the painter) returned to India in 1786 as Governor of Fort Saint George but resigned his post on account of ill-health in 1789. He was member of Parliament for the Stirling Burghs from 1789 until his death in 1791. There is a portrait of him at Government House, Madras, which is supposed to be the work of Tilly Kettle. Kettle certainly painted a portrait of Warren Hastings for Stewart. It is very similar in composition to the picture, also by Kettle, which was purchased for the National Portrait Gallery in June 1859 at the Sullivan sale (2); but there is no turned-over shirt collar, as in the latter picture. It was engraved in line for the *European Magazine* of 1782 and was then stated to be "an original painting by Kettle in the possession of Mrs. Maitland." Mr. Cortlandt MacGregor, to whom it ultimately passed, sold it by auction during the summer of 1928. A reproduction of the painting will be found in Miss Monckton Jones' book

(1) The date 1768 is the one mentioned in *The Times*. Miss Monckton Jones in her book on *Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774* (Clarendon Press 1918) says (p. 357) that Stewart arrived in Calcutta on August 29, 1772. Hastings assumed the Government of Bengal on April 9, 1772.

(2) Stephen Sullivan, the son of Laurence Sullivan, went out to Madras as a writer in 1778 and came up to Calcutta from that place in September 1780 in H. M. S. *Nymphé* with his wife, bringing the Madras Council's despatches regarding Baillie's disaster at Pollilore. Thereafter he is mentioned more than once by Hastings in his correspondence as "My Secretary, Mr. Sullivan." His wife seems to have been a sister of Samuel Davis (Farington Diary, August 28, 1807). The picture by Kettle descended to his son the Right Hon. Laurence Sullivan (1783-1866) who succeeded him at Ponsborne Manor in Herefordshire and who for some years was Under Secretary at the War Office.

on "Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774" (Clarendon Press, 1918). Hastings is represented as a young man, the bust is facing the spectator, the head is tilted slightly to the right. The left elbow rests on a table and the hand which is doubled to show the knuckles, supports the cheek. The right hand hangs below the knee. The dress is reddish brown in colour, and the waistcoat is partly open to show the white neck-cloth, and shirt, which has a turned down collar. The sleeves of the coat have white ruffles. Both this picture and the other were probably painted at Calcutta between the years 1772 and 1776.

The letters, which are the property of Mr. Cortlandt MacGregor, are wrapped in a much worn sheet which bears the address:

Miss Blackwood

Lady Blackwood

T. B. Rous (3).

Bath

There is also an endorsement: 4 letters, 1776-77, Warren Hastings, Esqr., Govr. General.

The first of the series in point of time is from Campbell to Stewart and is dated London, February 14, 1774; and in the course of it Campbell writes in a spirit of wholly inaccurate prophecy:—

On my arrival in England I had a long conference with Lord North; Mr. Hastings was much the subject of His Lordship's enquiries, and I spoke honest truths of his valuable qualifications. It however reached my Ears that a Certain Gentleman's friends (Mr. B.) had been industrious in propagating your late feuds at Calcutta to the discredit of Mr. Hastings, and it so nettled my Highland Pride I used the liberty to abuse the insinuation without reserve or delicacy. Mr. Hastings, I took care, stands with my old Commander Genl. Clavering in the most favourable light; and as their tempers are similar I doubt not unanimity will be the consequence.

This Clavering is one of the most Moderate, Steady, Sensible Worthy men that ever broke the bread of life; his very appearance will please, and when you know the good qualities of his Heart you will like him as well as I do. Above all men study to be well with this man; he knows your character and I am sure he will distinguish your merit because he regards Justice. Monson I am not known to, but he is allowed to be an honourable man, although perhaps of too hasty principles as a Member to rule; but this I do not say as my own ideas.

Francis is a shrewd sensible man, I am little known to him also, but upon the whole they promise fair to act in concert with propriety and good conduct.

(3) Thomas Bates Rous had been the captain of an East Indiaman, the *Britannia*, and was a Director of the East India Company from 1773 to 1779. He was returned to the House of Commons "under the patronage of Clive" as Member for Worcester City in 1773.

The three new Councillors sailed in the *Earl of Ashburnham* from St. Helens in the Isle of Wight on April 1, 1774, and arrived at Madras on September 21 and off Kedgerree on October 14, taking their seats in Council at Fort William on October 20, two days before Sir Elijah Impey and his colleagues of the Supreme Court sat for the first time at the Old Court House. Campbell's estimate of their character may be correct; but his expectations with regard to their relations with Hastings went singularly wide of the mark.

On March 2, 1775, Campbell writes again to Stewart from London. He was now in Parliament as member for the Stirling Burghs (1774-1780) and discusses the prospects of the American War with equal want of political acumen:—

American Affairs have occupied the attention of our wisest Heads this winter—Parlt. have come to the resolution of enforcing a due obedience from our colonies to the Legislative Authority of this country, and the resolution happily begins to show a Dawn of hope of an Amicable Termination—Ten thousand men are under Orders with a large fleet of ships for America to bring the Insurgents of the Massachusetts Bay to reason, and the Province of New York has by an express arrived yesterday actually declared in favour of Government, in opposition to the unwarrantable proceedings of the Bostonians. A short time I hope will bring about the same wise sense from the other Provinces without any Bloodshed.

The four letters of Hastings to Stewart were written when Stewart had returned to England. The first, dated Calcutta, January 23, 1776, is in the following terms:—

Mr. Van (4) will show you a new Composition, which I like much. I hope you will. I know you wd. but for that abominable affair of yr. Mandamus! But the [Supreme] Court is yet the Palladium of this country.—My Minutes flag most sadly:—I mean my Answers to yrs. wch go to ye Court of Dirs—but I think theirs still keep yr. Distance below me.—Not that I have ye least vanity. But it is proper yt [that] evry one sd be served according to his Rank, as Mons Richard said, when he insisted on adding four base pipes to my Organ, because Mr. Aldersey's (though he was only Presidt. of the Bd. of Trade) had more Notes than mine had.

The second letter, which is a long one, is dated Belvidere, March 27, 1776, and the following passages from it are printed in *The Times*:—

You have gained your Cause, and what have you gained by it? I send you a Letter of Introduction to Lord Md [Mansfield] which

(4) George Vansittart, with whom Hastings always remained on friendly terms. He had come out to Bengal as a writer in 1761 and retired about the year 1776 with a large fortune, with which in 1780 he purchased Bisham Abbey in Berkshire (a favourite county with Anglo-Indians of the time and known as the "English Hindustan.") He was M. P. for Berkshire from 1784 to 1812. Vansittart Row in Calcutta seems to have been named after him.

is the *first* of the Kind I ever wrote to him. I have told him you were a little warped, but able to give him a World of useful Information, much in my Confidence, and an *Eye Witness* of all our Debates. . . .

You say not a Word of my Plan of Justice, which I suppose G. V. [George Vansittart] had forgot to shew you, & I am sorry for it, because I am more pleased with it than with any Work of my own since ye Treaty of Benaris, and I sd have been glad to have recd your Sents upon it, and such Addns as you might have thot of, to mend it with this Dispatch.—It is much mended however having occupied more of my Time & Thoughts since than any other Subject.—Sir Elijah has with incomparable Dispatch and Ability turned it into ye Form of an Act of Parlt, and unless I am disappointed of it by unforeseen Delays I hope to send it cut and dry for ye Ct of Dirs to get it passed at once into an Act. I do not believe it will be objected to. The Judges are to meet to give their Opinion upon it to-morrow. It is very voluminous. . . .

Coll Upton (5) has finished his Negotiations. Salsette & ye other Islands are given up to Us, w all Baroch & 3 Lacks of Country adjoining, ye Expences of ye War to be reimbursed to ye Co and Ragoba allowed a scanty Salary, which is is probable he will not accept. Coll Upton advised Us in a Letter of ye 6th Febr'y yt [that] ye Ministers had peremptorily declared for War unless he consented to give up every Thing, and ye Day was fixed for his Departure. Great Preparations were made here for War, and all ye Chiefs of Indostan invited to join us. Luckily ye Letters were not sent, for three Weeks afterwards came his Letter of ye 24th Febr'y & told Us that they had agreed to ye Treaty on his own Condns [conditions] wch give up to them every Thing which We had not, and accept the Cession of all that We hold in our Right. Bassein remains theirs.—Ragoba will most probably withdraw himself from Us, & if he meets wh [with] Partizans who can keep up his Credit but a few Months longer, either Sukkaram Bobboo may die, or his Party fall to pieces, & the Peshwarship devolves upon Ragoba of Course, and with him ye whole Mahratta Empire will be united against Us. I sd have said yt ye Lands about Baroch wch they have yielded to Us belong to Futty Sing who is independent of them. I do not know how Sindia & Hulkar are disposed to Ragoba. If they take part wh

(5) Lt. Colonel John Upton marched across India from Calcutta and back—The treaty of Purandhar (24 miles by road from Poona) was signed with the Peshwa on March 1, 1776. For an account of the proceedings, see *Soldiering in India, 1764-1787*, by W. C. Macpherson (Blackwood, 1927). Captain Allen Macpherson accompanied Upton as Secretary and interpreter and kept a full Journal which is reproduced (pp. 230-316). The Mission returned to Calcutta on March 1, 1777.

him, & Hyder who is his Friend will act with Vigor for him on the other side of Poona, he may yet be victorious.. Upon ye whole I fear that Peace is not ensured by ye Treaty, & We have certainly sacrificed the only Opportunity We ever had, or may ever recover to render ye Compy ye Arbiters of that State.—The Company were early advised of ye War, and their Orders may be daily expected. I can scarcely expect yt wh an American civil War upon yr Hands the Ministry wd approve of a War in India of wch the imperfect Advices from Bombay will have given them no prospect of a Termination: but if it shd be approved the Treaty may yet be prevented for ye Hooly festival was to come on 2 Days after Upton's last Letter & wd last 10 Days. Forms and ye Spirit of Procrastination may keep it back Ten Days longer, wch wd give Time for a Letter from this Board to reach Upton, & possibly induce him to insist on Bassain, & begin all his Negotiations anew, or a Letter may arrive in ye mean Time from ye Co.—Both these Chances are within ye Line of Possibility, but I think ym not probable. I lament that I was not more peremptory in my first Opinion upon this Business. You know what a Struggle it cost me to temporize. But it was certainly a bad Policy to break ye Engagements once concluded under ye solemn Obligation of a Treaty, and as dangerous and disgraceful to retire from ye Midst of a War. Had ye Gent [gentlemen] of Bombay been but a fourth Part as explicit as Mr. Taylor (6) was when it was too late I should not have hesitated to declare loudly for prosecuting ye War, but we knew no more of yr means or Intentions than that they had gone to War agst the Marattas without Money, Men or Alliance, and without a Plan or decided Objects.—But it is too late for Reflexion. . . .

We are quiet in Council, Francis cool, & even a Dissenter & Monson silent. The General has given me no great Cause of Dissatisfaction. Yet, my Friend, I grow more impatient than ever.—I have lost Opportunities which, if I had been joined w reasonable Men wd have established my Reputation for ever. I ought to have heard before this from England, heard I mean some thing that wd have given me an Insight into my own Fate. Instead of that Scraps of alien News find their Way here w alarm me w the Apprehension that the popular Attention has turned into a new Channel, and yt We shall be wholly overlooked, or only treated with temporizing Managements without having anything decided perhaps for months yet to come.—I cannot bear these American tumults. Yet surely they will not leave Us another Year with a Maratta War brewing over Us, and a thick Storm gathering in Asota Dowla's Dominions, which must fall with Ruin on Us if it breaks while the present Anarchy continues in this Govt—

(6) The Agent sent to Hastings by the Bombay Council.

and with a new Settlt of ye provinces to be formed by Men who have no Principle to guide them in the Choice of their Measures but to read mine backwards.

I rely on your holding daily Councils with McLeane & Elliot (7). McLeane left me too soon to know me through the Reserve which it is not in my Nature to throw off but by a long and familiar Intercourse, but no man living ever won so much of my Confidence in so short an Acquce, and I love Elliot as much as his Father can love him.—As for you, my Friend, after the many bitter Arguments, and peevish squabbles wch have passed between Us—(& in which you must be sensible you were always in ye Wrong—you can have no Doubt of my Affection. I yet hope to see you the Partner of my better Days, and to rejoice with you in the Reflexion of our past and common Sufferings. I shall then be content to return after my appointed Time, and shall be happier to have you for my Neighbour and Bottle Companion than almost any Man I know.—Lord how our other Neighbours will wonder when we talk over old Stories together!—But I am not yet ripe for Retirement, nor hope for one social hour hereafter if my present Hopes are blasted. . . .

The third letter is dated "Belvidere 22nd Nov. 1776:—

. . . . I have written a Letter filled with all that my Heart was full of to Coll McLeane. See it.—Bogle (8) will write you the rest.—He & Anderson form a new Committee of *Circuit*, which is to do all their Business *at home*.—I shall send my joint Friends all ye Papers w relate to this Business to wch I refer you for an Acct of it.—But you must read them attentively, & read them through before you cavil at them after your usual Way. I know that before you have read two Lines you will stop to tell me that I have undertaken Impossibilities, & when you have read it through that I am providing Materials for ye Benefit of Gnl Clavering.—I answer yt it is practicable & shall be done; & as to ye last Objection, the Gnl will rather go to Work without any Materials at all, than use such as I shall provide for him.

I hardly dare mention the Name of Barwell to you after the mortal Wound w he has given you, or I would tell you that I am every Day more and more satisfied with him. Could I but get the better of his Indolence, & prevail upon him to answer ye Gnl's protests (w by ye by is no easy task, for they are not always intelligible, & for ever filled w false Facts, w it r requires much Time & Labour to refute by Authorities), I sd be perfectly easy in my

(7) Colonel Lauchlan McLeane had gone to England early in 1775 to counteract the intrigues of Francis. Alexander Elliot of whom Hastings says that he had "loved him from a child"; was a brother of Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Lord Minto.

(8) George Bogle of Tibet fame died in Calcutta on April 3, 1781. David Anderson always one of Hasting's intimates, negotiated the Treaty of Salbai in 1782.

Situation till the Mo of April. After yt Time I shall be outrageous, if Matters are not brot to an Issue some way or other.— I *do* care what, but if they give the Victory to Gl. C. I will promise ym that I will have ample Vengeance for the Injury, & shall desire no better Instrument to work it with than him.

P.S.: . . . The Genl has been for some Time ill.—I don't know how he is now, for I never enquire.—I have fancied a Case w is not impossible, & wd work Wonders. Suppose the next Attempt to remove Mr. Barwell & us sd succeed. One Member is gone (9). If the General sd follow, Francis from a simple Decimal will be the Integer—aye every inch a King—and possess ye undivided & uncontrolled Sovereignty of Bengal.—If it sd happen I verily believe he will run mad, & half ye People with him.

Have you read Ld P's (10) Pamphlet? It begins, "Upon my Arrival in India, I found a general *Reform* was necessary in the Settlement to preserve the Company from *Ruin*." What a striking Likeness there is in the Language & Characters of all Reformers!—Remember that though I made a Number of Chops & Changes, I never called myself a Reformer, nor lamented that all Men were not as virtuous & disinterested as myself, nor thanked God that I was not like this or that Publican whose Place I wanted to occupy myself, a Thief, Oppressor, etc. . . .

The fourth letter which is dated Fort William, 21st Decr. 1776, need not be reproduced. It will be found in the second volume of Gleig (page 118).

EVAN COTTON.

(9) Monson had died at Hooghly on September 25, 1776. Clavering died on August 30, 1777.

(10) Lord P=Lord Pigot who entered upon his second time of office as Governor of Fort Saint George on December 10, 1776, and being placed under arrest by the majority of the Council, died at Madras on May 10, 1777.

The Editor's Note Book.

IT is regrettable that no official list appears ever to have been prepared of the tablets which were affixed, by order of Lord Curzon upon buildings of historical interest throughout India. There are five such tablets at Benares and by the courtesy of Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S., the Collector, the inscriptions upon them have been copied. The first of these is on the wall of Madho Das' garden which is now occupied by the Radha Swami sect: it records that "in the garden within these walls were the quarters occupied in the autumn of 1781 by Warren Hastings, First Governor of Fort William in Bengal." Mention is not made, as it might have been, of the fact that the house was subsequently occupied by Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares from 1788 to 1795 and Governor of Bombay from 1795 to 1811, who founded the famous Sanskrit College: and that later on it was assigned as a residence to Wazir Ali on his removal from Lucknow. The next tablet is at Shivala Ghat and has been placed at the left side of the gate of the house facing the Ganges. The inscription reads: "This was the residence of Raja Chait Singh where he was arrested by the orders of Warren Hastings on the 16th August, 1781, and where on the same date, after the massacre of two companies of sepoys with their British officers, he was rescued by his adherents." The third tablet will be found at Nandeswar House which is now used as a guest house by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares: it is inscribed: "This House was the residence of Mr. Davis, Magistrate of Benares. It was defended by him single-handed with a spear on the 14th June, 1799 against 200 armed men led by the rebel Nawab Wazir Ali." The description of the weapon as a "spear" is incorrect: it was a running footman's pike. On the old Mint House, which is opposite Nandeswar Kothi, is a tablet which records that "this House was built as a Mint in 1820-1821 from the designs of James Prinsep the celebrated antiquarian who resided in it until the Benares Mint was abolished in 1830. It was used as a place of refuge by the European inhabitants of Benares in June and July, 1857."

THE fifth and last tablet must be given a paragraph to itself. There are two places in Benares associated with the name of Tulsi Das, the author of the famous Hindi version of *Ramayana*, who died at Benares in 1623. One is a ghat on the river side. He is said to have lived in the corner building at the north of the ghat while writing the latter part of the poem, which contains 12,800 lines, and

also to have composed there the *Rama-dataka*—one of his minor poems—in a single night. His shoes and pillow and a piece of wood on which he is said to have crossed the Ganges, are preserved. It is not here however that the tablet has been affixed. That will be found on a house behind the Kotwali, or principal police station and is inscribed: "The Poet Tulsi Das is said to have here composed his *Binaya Patrika*," which is one of his finest poems on *Bhakti Marga*.

THERE is one more historic building in Benares which deserves notice. Just beyond the Civil Courts is a house known as Hastings House, now the property of Rai Govind Chandra, which is supposed to have been occupied by Hastings on the occasion of his second visit. There is certainly a sun dial of Chunar stone on the edge of the road outside the garden, which, according to the inscription upon it, was erected in 1784 by Lieut. James Ewart by order of Warren Hastings.

THE recent appointment of Sir Malcolm Macnaghten, K.C., M.P., to be a Judge of the King's Bench Division, indicates the strength of the judicial tradition in that old Anglo-Indian family. Sir Francis William Macnaghten (1763-1843) the propositus, went out to Calcutta in 1791 with his father in law, Sir William Dunkin the Judge, and was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on September 1, of that year. He prospered, as was natural, served the office of Sheriff in 1797, and became Master and Accountant-General. In 1803 he returned to Europe, but went back to India in 1809 as puisne judge at Madras whence he was transferred to Calcutta in 1815 and retired in 1825. Sir Malcolm Macnaghten is the fourth son of Lord Macnaghten (1830-1913), the famous Lord of Appeal who was a grandson of Sir Francis; and his mother was a daughter of Sir Samuel Martin, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. An account of the Indian Macnaghtens has already been given in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 79-80).

THE announcement of the death in London on December 14 last of the widow of Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Strachey, at the age of 88, recalls a host of other Anglo-Indian memories. Lady Strachey was the grand daughter of Sir John Peter Grant, the judge of Supreme Court at Bombay, who quarrelled with the Executive in the person of Sir John Malcolm, and resigned his appointment and came to Calcutta in 1831 to practise as an advocate because Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control cut the knot by nominating two colleagues with the comment that Grant would

"now be like a wild elephant between two tame ones." He obtained a puisne judgeship in Calcutta in 1833 and retired in 1848, dying on the voyage to Europe. Thereafter a dynasty of John Peter Grants arose in Bengal. The second of that name was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1859 to 1862 and married the second daughter of Trevor John Chichele Plowden (Bengal Civil Service, 1827-1861). Elinor, one of their children, married Sir James Colville who was Advocate General from 1845 to 1848, puisne judge from 1848 to 1855 and Chief Justice from 1855 to 1859. Her sister, Jane Maria, was Lady Strachey; and two of her brothers, John Peter Grant the third, and Trevor John Chichele Grant, were in the Bengal Civil Service. There were many tales told in old days of Trevor Grant, but these must keep for another occasion. Lady Strachey's husband, Richard, was the brother of Sir John Strachey; and were not only descended from Clive's Secretary, Henry Strachey, but had as maternal grandfather the famous Major-General William Kirkpatrick who founded the Bengal Military Orphan Society in 1782, and like his brother James Achilles was Resident at Hyderabad. Richard Strachey accompanied his future father-in-law to the Upper Provinces when Grant took charge, during the Mutiny, of those portions of the North-West Provinces which were still in communication with Calcutta. Only a few of the family ramifications have been hinted at. As far as the Stracheys are concerned, there is no lack of representation; for nine of Lady Strachey's thirteen children survive her. One of them is Mr. Lytton Strachey.

THERE is no portrait of Sir John Peter Grant the first in the High Court at Calcutta; but there is one in the Sessions Court at Bombay, to which a remarkable history is attached. When Grant left Bombay, his carriage was drawn through the streets by the Indian inhabitants; and a subscription was started which resulted in the painting of his portrait at Calcutta. The picture arrived in Bombay on December 3, 1833, but Sir Herbert Compton, who was then Chief Justice refused to allow it to be put up in the Supreme Court building; and it remained for sixty years in the family of Mr. Jeejeebhoy Dada-bhai whose grandson offered it to the Judges in 1892. This time it was accepted by Sir Charles Sargent, the Chief Justice of that day. It is unfortunately impossible to discover the signature of the painter on the canvas. Probably, it is the work of George Beechey, who came to Calcutta about the year 1830 and whose portrait of Dr. John Adam (1792-1830) is one of those in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Maharaja Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore owns also a number of his pictures.

BEECHEY succeeded Robert Home as Court Painter to the King of Oudh at Lucknow; and in the Rev. H. S. Polehampton's letters and Diary (Bentley, London, 1858) mention is made of a ghost story with which his name is connected. Polehampton, after rowing for Oxford in the University boatrace of 1846, came to Lucknow in

The History of a Judge's Portrait.

An Artist's Ghost.

April, 1856 as a chaplain on the Bengal establishment. The Company's regiments were then quartered at Mariaon some three miles to the north-east of Lucknow; and Polehampton had a pucca house there. On May 12, 1857, just before the outbreak, he says in the course of a letter to his mother (p. 236);

They say that my house is haunted and that none but a Padre can live in it. I have often been asked "whether I have seen the ghost," by English people. They say that Mr. Beechey, who died here, haunts it. Did I tell you that one night, hearing a strange noise at one of the doors, I went out with my revolver? No one was there, so I called the chokeedar and asked him what it was. He looked very solemn, and said "Beechey Sahib."

POLEHAMPTON died on July 20, 1857, during the siege; and the devoted service which he gave was acknowledged by Lord Canning who wrote on December 8, 1857 that he could not
Two Tragic
Marriages.
 "forego the pleasure of doing justice to the names of Birch, Polehampton, Barbar and Gale." His widow, who died at Grindelwald in Switzerland as recently as 1905, married in 1859 Major-General Sir Henry Masion Durand. By a melancholy coincidence, he too met with a tragic death. On June 1, 1870, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and seven months later, on December 31, received fatal injuries at Tank in the Dera Ismail Khan district. He was entering a gateway on an elephant, when the howdah struck the top of the gateway and he was thrown to the ground.

THE Lucknow Chaplain was a keen observer, and his letters are full of interesting glimpses of the India of those days. The *Hindustan*, in which he made the voyage from Suez, came up the
Calcutta in 1856.
 Hooghly as far as Garden Reach, where the P. and O. Company's wharf was, opposite Bishop's College (now occupied by the Sibpur Engineering College). Garden Reach was then full of "the houses of Calcutta merchants, each standing in its garden, having quite a Richmond-villa appearance." He thus describes the "Calcutta domestic style of architecture," which at the risk of being denounced as a fossil, must be acknowledged to be better suited to the climate than the modern skyscrapers with their narrow balconies. "At the top is a balustrade like that at the top of Christ Church, Oxford; then two stories of rooms, outside each of which is a verandah supported on pillars, the space between the pillars being filled up with thin blinds, called 'chicks,' which light or rather shade, the verandah into which the rooms open." Spence's Hotel was then the refuge of the new arrival. The "course" on the Maidan which

is now supplanted by Tollygunge, was the "Regents Park of Calcutta," where the morning and evening drives were taken. The Hooghly river presented "a splendid and novel sight, with ships of 2,000 tons, anchored, not, as in London, alongside of muddy smoky warehouses, but along the bank, in many places green and covered with trees." There were "no shop windows" in the business quarter which lay around Tank Square; "everything was inside." On the whole, however, Polehampton "did not like Calcutta; it is neither an Indian nor an European town."

ON the way to Lucknow, the journey for the first 130 miles as far as RaneeGUNGE was made by rail—"a capital railway." From RaneeGUNGE to Lucknow, a distance of 600 miles, the Polehamptons travelled in a "gharree, a kind of van about six feet long, and three feet wide, on four wheels, drawn by one horse," which was provided by the Inland Transit Company. The horse was changed every five or six miles: and unless the animal jibbed, the rate of progress was about seven miles an hour. The bearer slept on the roof, as he did, only thirty odd years ago. When the journey from Purulia to Ranchi was made in a push push drawn by coolies. The days were spent at dak bungalows, of which there was one every ten miles; there was seldom bread to be had, but always *murghis* (unnaturally tough) and eggs. The journey would be resumed at dusk and be continued through the night. Polehampton was struck by the immense traffic by bullock-carts on the Grand Trunk Road which those who use it in the neighbourhood of Howrah may be interested to know was then "a splendid road, as good as any in England."

MODERN memsahibs will study with mingled feelings the list which Polehampton gives of his servants at Lucknow and of the wages which he paid them. The rent of his bungalow was Rs. 50 a month and he calculated that his annual budget for board, lodging and servants would not exceed Rs. 3,000! What, he asks, did an unnamed friend of his mean by saying that living in India cost twice as much as in England? The list is as follows:—

A Household
Budget in 1856.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|--------|----------|
| Khansamah, or house-steward | ... | Rs. 10 | a month. |
| Khitmutgar or table-attendant | ... | Rs. 7 | " |
| Dhobee or washerman | ... | Rs. 8 | " |
| Ayah, or lady's maid | ... | Rs. 8 | " |
| Bawarchie, or cook | ... | Rs. 8 | " |
| Sirdar bearer or valet | ... | Rs. 8 | " |
| Bheestie, or water carrier | ... | Rs. 4 | " |
| Mehter, or sweeper | ... | Rs. 4 | " |

| | | | |
|--|-----|------------|----------|
| Chowkeedar, or watchman | ... | Rs. 4 | a month. |
| Four punkah coolies, two for day, two for night ... | ... | Rs. 3 each | „ |
| Three mallees or gardeners | ... | Rs. 3 | „ |
| Two mate bearers | ... | Rs. 4 | „ |
| Two syces or grooms | ... | Rs. 5 | „ |
| Grass-cutter | ... | Rs. 3 | „ |
| Bukhari wallah, or goat boy | ... | Re. 1 | „ |
| Dhurzhee or tailor | ... | Rs. 7 | „ |

Polehampton adds that "there was plenty of space" in his garden and compound, "which is nearly half a mile round." He used to ride into Lucknow from Mariaon on an elephant.

THE use of Anglo-Indian phrases has become quite common in England: and many of them have secured a firm footing in the English language. But when Sir Charles Napier was commanding in Sind, eighty-five years ago, he objected very strongly to their introduction into official documents. The text of the following characteristic General Order is preserved in a compilation of records of Napier's Indian Command which was made by one John Mawson and published at Calcutta in 1851:—

Bilingual Official Documents.

Headquarters, Kurrachee, 12th February, 1844. The Governor unfortunately does not understand Hindoostanee nor Persian nor Mahratta nor any other Eastern dialect. He therefore will feel particularly obliged to collectors, sub-collectors, and officers writing the proceedings of Courts-Martial, and all Staff Officers, to indite their various papers in English, Larded with as small a portion in the to him unknown tongues as they conveniently can, instead of those he generally receives—namely papers written in Hindostane larded with occasional words in English.

Any Indent made for English Dictionaries shall be duly attended to, if such be in the stores at Kurrachee: if not, Gentlemen who have forgotten the vulgar tongue are requested to provide the requisite assistance from England.

EQUALLY entertaining is another general Order, issued at Sukkur in 1843. "Gentlemen, as well as beggars," observed Sir Charles Napier, "may, if they like, ride to the devil when they get on horseback; but neither gentlemen nor beggars have a right to send other people there, which will be the case if furious riding be allowed in camp or bazaar."

"Gentlemen on Horseback."

The Major-General calls the attention of all the camp to the orders of Lieut.-Colonel Wallace of the 18th ult., and begs to add that he has placed a detachment of horse at Capt. Pope's

orders, who will arrest offenders, and Capt. Pope will inflict such a fine or other punishment as the Bazaar regulations permit. Capt. Pope is not allowed to let any one off punishment, because when orders have been repeated and not obeyed, it is time to enforce them; without obedience an army becomes a mob, a cantonment a bear-garden. The enforcement of obedience is like physic, not agreeable but sometimes very necessary.

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR'S elegy on Rose Aylmer should be well-known in Calcutta: have not the lines been inscribed, at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society, upon her tomb in the South Park Street cemetery? But it is not, we fancy, so well-known that the version which has made Landor famous, was not the original one. As Landor wrote the poem about the year 1805, the words of the last stanza were these:

A Poet's Second Thoughts.

*Sweet Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
May weep but never see,
A night of sorrows and of sighs
I consecrate to thee*

Long afterwards, the poet made these corrections:—

*Rose Aylmer. . . .
A night of memories and of sighs. . .*

Our authority is the late Sir Edmund Gosse.

A MONUMENT at Haripur, a place situated about 20 miles from Hasan Abdul in the North-West Frontier Province, commemorates a certain "Colonel Canora," who was "killed defending his guns against the Sikh insurgents in 1848." Who was this "Colonel Canora?" De Rhe Philipe, in his biographical notices of persons whose names appear on Christian tombs in Northern India, quotes three authorities who give little assistance. Sir James Abbott, who erected the monument, calls him an American, and Sir Frederick Currie describes him as "an European or American;" according to Sir George St. Patrick Lawrence, he was "formerly a trumpeter in the British Cavalry." Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, the Director of Records at Lahore, has solved the problem. "Canora" is a corruption of "Kennedy." He was a deserter from the Royal Navy who took service with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. At the time of his death he was in command of a brigade of artillery at Haripur and was murdered by his men during the anarchy which followed the death of Ranjit Singh. Other European officers, such as Holmes and Foulkes, met a similar fate.

DURING the month of November last, some interesting correspondence appeared in *The Times* on the subject of a strange story associated with the cantonment of Nowshera (also in the N.-W. F. Province). The details are given in the most circumstantial manner by Lieut.-Col. W. W. Lean in a letter which was printed on November 26. When the 5th Bengal Cavalry (of which Colonel Lean was later in command) arrived at Nowshera on March 9, 1809, there was an insufficiency of bungalows for the officers. Three of them—Capt. A. C. Anderson, the Adjutant, Lieut. H. S. Williamson and Assistant Surgeon D. P. Palmer obtained permission to build a house and selected a site in the centre of a loop formed by the Kabul river. It was however already occupied by a Hindu fakir who, upon being ejected, laid a curse upon the officers and prophesied that both they and their house would come to an untimely end within seven years. The curse was fulfilled in a most extraordinary manner. Capt. Anderson broke his neck on May 25, 1870, when out hawking with the Guides near Hoti Mardan. On March 12, 1871, Lieut. Williamson was thrown from his horse when playing polo at Nowshera and sustained a fatal fracture of the skull. The house and the loop on which it stood were washed away in the first half of August 1876 by a bore caused by the flooding of the Indus at Attock. There remained Dr. Palmer, and he was drowned on the Jumna at Allahabad on September 4, 1876. Major H. N. Webb, who was with him at the time, supplies full details of the fatality. Another brother-officer, Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Richardson, who was living with Dr. Palmer in the cavalry lines near Allahabad, states that his death occurred either on the exact day, or the day before the completion of the seven years, mentioned in the curse.

WE have transcribed, the following, by permission, from the *Indian Antiquary* for December, 1880 (Vol. IX, p. 309). The story is printed without comment by Dr. James Burgess, who was then the editor, and the observations, which are offered at a later stage, are our own:—

An Apparition in
the Council-Chamber.

The Rev. Bouchier Wrey Sairle has issued a second edition of his valuable and interesting book on "Apparitions" (published by Longmans and Co.) and in it he gives fresh instances of the saving of spontaneous apparitions by persons not spiritualists. In the preface he says:

"I am indebted to the kindness of George Sparkes, Esq., of Bromley, Kent, for the following very singular incident connected with that eminent statesman Warren Hastings. . . Mr. Sparkes informs me that one evening, when his great uncle, Joseph Cator, Esq., then Secretary to Warren Hastings, was sitting with the Supreme Council of India in the Council-Chamber of Calcutta,

Mr. Shakespear, one of the members, suddenly looked up, exclaiming "Good God, there is my father!" The whole Council then saw a figure of an unknown person glide through the Chamber into another room which had no outlet, and disappear. What particularly attracted the attention of the Council was the fact that the figure appeared with a hat of unusual shape commonly known in our day by the name of "chimney-pot." The Governor-General was so struck with the occurrence that he ordered a minute to be made of the matter and placed in the record-chest: where it may possibly still remain. In course of time a ship from England arrived bringing the news of the death of Mr. Shakespear's father, and likewise a cargo of "chimney pot hats," the first ever brought to India.

IT is with great regret that we venture to dissect so good a story: but we feel bound to point out that it offends not only against chronology but against fact. Warren Hastings sailed from Calcutta in the *Berrington* in February, 1785. We are not aware that Joseph Cator ever acted as his Secretary. This post was held by George Nesbitt Thompson for some years before the Governor-General's departure. Joseph Cator as a matter of fact, was private secretary to Richard Barwell. As for the member of Council named Shakespear, the first member of that family who attained the dignity was H. D. Shakespear who took his seat on October 26, 1835 and died in Calcutta on March 20, 1838. Finally, if we are to believe the evidence supplied in a letter written to *The Times* on November 20, 1926, by Miss Beatrice Havergal Shaw, the "chimney pot hat" did not come into vogue until eleven years after Hastings had left India. "An old journal dated January 16, 1797" describes how a haberdasher in the Strand of the name of Hetherington was bound over at the Mansion House for inciting to a breach of the peace. He had, it appears, created a riot by appearing in public with "what he called a silk hat (which was offered in evidence) a full structure having a shiny lustre, and calculated to frighten timid people. The story therefore fails to satisfy a single chronological test: and as the society for Psychical Research appears to have been enquiring into the matter, it is to be hoped that this bold recital will lay this particular ghost.

LOVERS of a coincidence will note that Lord Lake's elevation to the peerage, under the style and title of Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswaree and of Aston Clinton in the county of Buckingham, was announced in the same issue of the *London Gazette* (September 1, 1804) as the appointment of Major-General the Honourable Arthur Wellesley to be a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. The extract was published by the Governor-General in General orders, Fort William, February 25, 1805; and a Royal salute was

An Interesting
Coincidence.

ordered to be fired "at all the stations of the Land Forces serving in the East Indies, for the purpose of notifying these distinguished marks of His Majesty's Gracious Favor and Approbation to the Army."

IN the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for October, 1804, (p. 695) the text is given of a letter written from Cawnpore on August 18, of that year by Lake to Lord Wellesley, with reference to the honours conferred upon him by Shah Alam, the blind Emperor, whom he had rescued in the previous year from the hands of the Mahrattas. Rajah Munnoo Lall "a Person of Rank" performed the ceremony of investiture with a sword and shield and the insignia of the "Mahee and Moratib." On the following page a description is given of these marks of distinction:—

The "Mahee"
and the "Moratib."

The dignity of the Mahee and Moratib, to which also the privilege of beating the Nobut was annexed, was usually presented by the Emperors of Hindostan to persons of the highest rank in the Empire, such as the Vizier and Bukshea or Commander-in-Chief.

The following is a description of the *Mahee* or Fish:—The head of a large Fish is fashioned in copper, and gilt. The body and tail of the Fish are formed of silk, and fixed to the head. The whole is then fixed upon a long staff and carried upon an Elephant which together with these insignia, is presented to the person upon whom this dignity is conferred.

The *Moratib* consists of a Ball of Copper, gilt, encircled by a *Jhollar*, or fringe, of about two feet long, and placed on a long pole; and like the *Mahee*, is borne on an Elephant.

The mode of granting the *Nobut* is as follows: Two small *Nobuts*, or Drums of silver are formed, each about the size of a thirty-two Pound Shot, of which the apertures are covered with parchment. These are hung upon the neck of the person on whom the *Nobut* is conferred and are struck a few times. That person then becomes a *Sahib-i-Nobut*; and he has Drums made upon the paper scale, which are beaten five times in the course of four and twenty hours. The Drums of the *Nobut*, placed on an Elephant, accompany the *Mahee* and *Moratib* on a march.

AT page 570 of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for August, 1804, a curious reference will be found to George Francis Grand, the husband of the lady who cost Philip Francis 50,000 sicca rupees and ended her days in Paris as the *Princesse de Talleyrand*: Grand ended his at the Cape of Good Hope where he obtained an appointment as the Consulting Counsellor or Raad Consuleur about the year 1802,

The Husband of
Madame Grand.

after the rendition of the Colony to the Dutch under the provisions of the Treaty of Amiens. Here he appears to have become an important personage: for the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* writes that it has been "favoured by a correspondent at the Cape of Good Hope with the following information;

Mr. Grand might with great propriety be said to govern the Government. All debates in Council are carried on in the French and not in the Dutch language, by orders from the First Consul. Mr. Grand not understanding the Dutch language, business is suspended for the day, should he be absent. Nine or ten Englishmen only had permission to remain, among whom were Mr. Duckitt, the English Agriculturist, Mr. Watney, formerly Lieut. in the 8th Dragoons, and Mr. Hudson, proprietor of the Family Hotel. The Hon'ble Company's Agent, John Pringle, Esq. had departed for St. Helena, previous to which he was very generously entertained by the Government and by the principal inhabitants of the Colony.

This state of affairs did not last long. On January 9, 1806, the Cape was taken by Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham; and on April 6 in that year Grand was appointed Inspector of Government Woods and Forests. This appointment he seems to have held for a year only: but he remained at Capetown and died there on January 22, 1820. Mr. J. J. Cotton has, in an article which was printed in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1923 (Vol. XXV, pp. 71-75) collected many interesting details of Grand's life at the Cape: but does not appear to have been aware of the entry in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*.

AMONG the many famous men who have sent their sons to India is Robert Burns, exciseman and poet. It has already been recorded in these pages (Vol. XXXIV, p. 44) that his two sons were officers in the Company's army, one in Madras and the other in Bengal. Both had Glencairn for a second Christian name; it was derived from the poet's friend, the Earl of Glencairn whose mother was the niece of James Macrae, the predecessor of Thomas Pitt as Governor of Fort Saint George. Macrae was the son of a washerwoman at Ayr and started life as a cabin-boy. He acquired great wealth in India and left much of it to his niece who was the daughter of a fiddler. Lord Glencairn is the subject of Robert Burns' *Lament*. The Scotsman of March 10, 1890 recorded that Colonel James Glencairn Burns, the Bengal son, who died in 1865, wrote to the Burns Club on one occasion for a bottle to be filled from the club punch bowl and sent out to him in India—no doubt for the celebration of St. Andrew's Day.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Imperial Record Office, at 3, Government Place West, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 30th January, at 6 p.m.

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., took the chair.

The following report for the year 1928 was read by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

REPORT FOR 1928.

This report places on record the fact that the Calcutta Historical Society has now stepped into the 22nd year of its existence, having already come of age.

The Society expresses its sincere gratitude for the help it has received during the year under review, as in the past, from Sir Evan Cotton. Although Sir Evan is now in England, he continues to be the mainstay of the Society, and of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

I have to report with deep regret the untimely deaths of five of our prominent members and staunch supporters in the persons of His Excellency Sir Alexander Muddiman, Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia, Prof. Jogindra Nath Samaddar, the well known economist and historian, the Hon'ble Mr. S. R. Dass, Law Member of the Government of India, and Mr. G. N. Roy, I.C.S.

The Society's thanks are due to Prof. R. B. Ramsbotham, the Honorary Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present* for his untiring energy and devotion towards the welfare of the Society. The Society is also indebted to Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes, the Honorary Auditors and to all those who are taking part in promoting the cause of the Society and its journal.

I am glad to report that the Index to Volumes IX to XVIII has been published during the year under review. It will no doubt be a valuable asset to the readers of *Bengal: Past and Present* and to all who are interested in historical research. The indexing of the next 10 volumes of *Bengal: Past and Present* is almost complete. As the sum of about Rs. 1,800 is required for paying the indexers as honorarium and to meet the printing charges it is hoped that some of our generous subscribers will come forward and contribute handsomely to our Index Fund.

A comparative statement for the last three years will give our members an idea of our financial condition.

| | | Subscriptions realised. | Sale of Journal. | Bank balance as on 31st December. |
|------|-----|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1926 | ... | 1,667-14-6 | 294- 4-0 | 916- 6- 7 |
| 1927 | ... | 1,909-14-9 | 546-15-0 | 1,202-14-10 |
| 1928 | ... | 1,989-15-3 | 620- 0-0 | 1,705-10- 4 |

It will be seen from these figures that the financial progress attained by the Society during the last three years has been very encouraging. It may be noted that although the death and resignation of several members of the Society deprived it of some amount as subscriptions, the loss was

more than made up by the introduction of new members. The sale of the Journal has appreciably increased during the period and the amount for 1928 shows an increase over the figure for 1926 by more than Rs. 325.

During the year under review the total number of members was 172 as against 177 of the previous year. The decrease is due to the death and resignation of several members. We have enlisted several new members during the year.

It will appear from the audited Financial Statement appended below that the balance at the Bank on the 31st December, 1928, amounted to Rs. 706-10-4 in the General Fund and Rs. 367-5-7 in the Index Fund. The amount of Rs. 1,000 lying as a Fixed Deposit in the Index Fund, may be transferred to the General Fund Account, as the sum of Rs. 1,000, being the charge for printing the Index has been paid out of the General Fund Account during the year 1928.

The subscriptions of about 38 Ordinary members amounting to nearly Rs. 1,200 are in arrears, but the Honorary Manager reports that a great part of this amount will be realised during the current year.

In conclusion I thank all those who have helped in the continued development of the Society; without their valued aid and endeavours, the Society would not have been able to show the progress it has made, and is likely to continue in making.

Calcutta,
The 30th January, 1929.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st December, 1928.

| RECEIPTS. | | PAYMENTS. | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Rs. As. P. | | Rs. As. P. |
| Balance at 1st January, 1928 | | Printing and Blocks ... | 1,895 5 3 |
| with Mercantile Bank of India, | | Postage and Stationery ... | 255 4 6 |
| Current Account ... | 1,202 14 10 | Bank Charges ... | 2 8 0 |
| Subscriptions Realised— | | Loan to "Index Fund" ... | 1,000 0 0 |
| Arrears ... | 720 0 0 | Balance at 31st December 1928 | |
| 1928 ... | 1,149 15 3 | with Mercantile Bank of India, | |
| 1929 in advance ... | 20 0 0 | Current Account ... | 705 10 4 |
| Life Membership ... | 100 0 0 | | |
| | 1,989 15 3 | | |
| Sale of Society's Journal ... | 620 0 0 | | |
| Interest ... | 32 6 0 | | |
| Charges for reprints— | | | |
| Recovered from Mr. Seth ... | 13 8 0 | | |
| | Rs. 3,858 12 1 | | Rs. 3,858 12 1 |

CALCUTTA,
15th January, 1929.

Examined and found correct.
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

INDEX FUND ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

| | Rs. | As. | P. |
|---|-----------|-----|-----|
| Balance at 1st January, 1928 with Mercantile Bank of India— | | | |
| Current Account | 117 | 13 | 7 |
| Fixed Deposit ... | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | 1,117 | 13 | 7 |
| Sale of Index ... | ... | 209 | 8 0 |
| Interest ... | ... | 40 | 0 0 |
| Loan from General Fund ... | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | Rs. 2,367 | 5 | 7 |

PAYMENTS.

| | Rs. | As. | P. |
|---|-----------|-----|----|
| Printing ... | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance at 31st December, 1928 with Mercantile Bank of India— | | | |
| Fixed Deposit ... | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Current Account | 367 | 5 | 7 |
| | 1,367 | 5 | 7 |
| | Rs. 2,367 | 5 | 7 |

CALCUTTA,
15th January, 1929.

Examined and found correct.
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Dr. Bhandar Kar proposed the adoption of the Report and the Financial Statement.

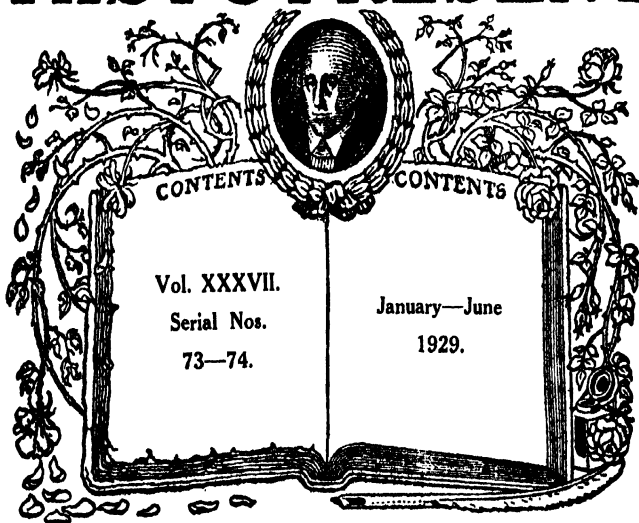
Raja Kshitendra Nath Deb Rai Mohshai of Bansbaria seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. M. Seth seconded by Dr. Bhandar Kar, Office bearers for the year 1929 were appointed.

With a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting terminated at 7-30 p.m.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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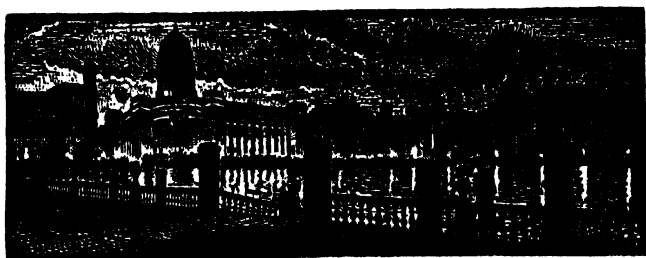
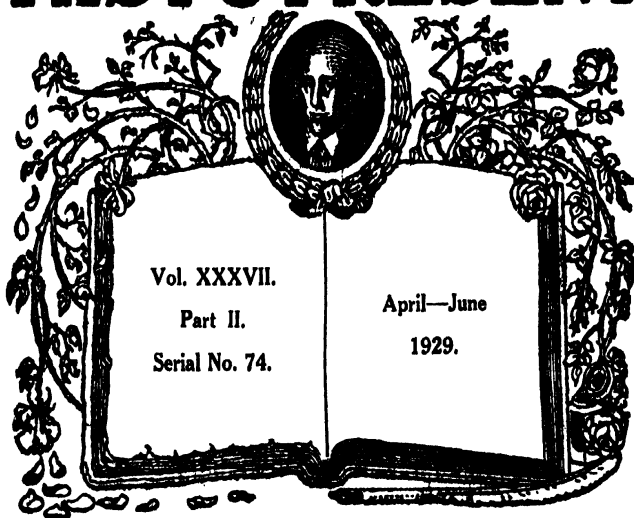
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LORD LAKE AND HIS STAFF
AT FATEHGARH, 1804.

By ROBERT HOME.

From the Picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall
at Calcutta.

Robert Home's Portrait of Lord Lake.

THE fine equestrian portrait of Lord Lake, the Baron of Delhi and Laswarree, which is one of the chief ornaments of the collection of pictures at the Victoria Memorial Hall, forms the subject of two references in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for 1809, which have hitherto been un-noticed. The first of these occurs in the January issue (at p. 64):—

Mr. Home's large picture of Lord Lake, intended for the New Town Hall, is now open for public inspection, in the Meeting Room of the Asiatic Society at Chowringhee. The scene of this fine painting is laid in the neighbourhood of Futtyghur; and the time is supposed to correspond with the return of the troops from the pursuit and destruction of Holkar's army.

The second reference is in the following terms (p. 99):

We are concerned to find that the situation at present allotted to Mr. Home's grand picture of Lord Lake returning to Camp after the victory at Futtyghur, but ill corresponds with the dimensions of this splendid production of art; the windows of the room [in the Hall of the Asiatic Society] being so low as to keep the upper part of the picture generally in a deep shade. Yet even with this disadvantage, we may safely predict that it will never be examined without admiration, whether for the execution of the artist or for the appropriate selection of the circumstances which enter into the composition.

These references are of importance as showing that the picture can definitely be ascribed to Home and that it was completed at the end of 1808. From the fact that it was intended for the Town Hall, where it remained until the Corporation of Calcutta presented it to the Victoria Memorial Hall, it may be inferred also that the cost was met by public subscription. Lord Lake was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India on May 14, 1801, and resigned on February 26, 1807.

One remarkable incident in the history of the picture deserves to be put once again upon record. When it was handed over in 1901 to Mr. Alexander Scott to be cleaned, nothing was visible upon the canvas except the figure of Lake on a horse of a dingy brown colour. A glance at the reproduction which we give, will show that Lake is mounted on a white charger, that his son and aide-de-camp is by his side on a black horse, that two other members of the staff are riding up the hill upon which the General is standing, and that there is a spirited military background.

EVAN COTTON.

Warren Hastings Through German Eyes.

THE translation has just been published in London (1) of a play by Herr Lion Feuchtwanger, in which Warren Hastings is introduced as the central figure. It is apparently among the earliest works of this author; and the success which has been achieved by his novel "Jew Süß" would seem to have invested it with sufficient importance to warrant its production in English dress. How then does the career of the great Governor-General, which is so intimately connected with Calcutta, fare in the hands of a German dramatist?

In a short review of the English translation which appeared in *The Times* of April 26, the amazing statement is made that Herr Feuchtwanger has made the most of his material "without doing any injustice to the historical facts." The claim will not survive a moment's examination, and it is the more extraordinary that it should be advanced, because the author in his "Advice before Reading" recommends those who "want reliable information about Warren Hastings" to "exchange the book for another." What then is the object in presenting what is admittedly a travesty of history? We are not told. "Warren Hastings," we learn, was "not understood in Germany twelve years ago and failed;" now, "it is a success and is not understood."

The period chosen for the play which is called "a History in Three Acts" consists of the few days between the end of April and the beginning of May, 1775. In Scene I of Act I "the delegates of the East India Company come to Calcutta to control the actions of the Governor-General." A truly "Extraordinary Meeting" of the Council is described. Barwell, Monson, Clavering and Francis ("a pale, heavy man, with clumsy movements," which he certainly was not) are taking "iced drinks" while they wait for the Governor-General, who arrives, accompanied by his secretary, to whom for some unexplained reason the name of Cowper is given, "a thick set young man with an expression of cool effrontery." The three councillors from England, who reached Calcutta in October, 1774, are stated to have been in Bengal for "three short weeks." A remarkable discussion follows. Francis accuses Hastings of "robbing the Begum of Oudh and her mother." What happened actually in 1775 was that the Begums of Oudh were allowed, with the sanction of the majority in the Council, to retain the treasure which had been left by Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. It was not until 1781—when both Clavering and Monson were dead and Francis had returned to England—that Hastings cancelled the arrangement made in 1775 on the ground

(1) Two Anglo-Saxon Plays: The Oil Islands and Warren Hastings. By Lion Feuchtwanger. Translated by Willa and Edwin Muir. (Seckar: Six Shilling net).



WARREN HASTINGS AND HIS WIFE IN THE GROUNDS OF HASTINGS HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

By JOHN ZOLLNER, R.A.

From the Picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

that the complicity of the Begums in Chait Singh's revolt was fully established. The matter certainly formed one of the charges at the impeachment, and much rhetoric was wasted upon it by Burke and Sheridan. The Begums' own view of it is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that they wrote letters of condolence to Hastings on his trial!

Hastings is next represented as claiming that since the beginning of his administration, he has "nearly completed" a road from Calcutta to Lahore. It was, again, not until 1781 that he carried a resolution in Council in favour of constructing a "New Road from Calcutta to Chunargur," but no further.

In Scene 2, which takes place on May 1, 1775, "the Company's representatives lay an accusation against Hastings and summon him to appear before the Court on May 4th." Firstly, Impey arrives at the Governor-General's office and discusses with Barwell an action brought by Nuncomar against Hastings, which he is about to try! He continues the discussion with Hastings himself! Nuncomar next appears on the scene, but is not admitted. Francis, Monson and Clavering arrive and demand his presence. In the course of conversation Hastings begs Francis to remember that "I have been at Eton as well as you." There is much talk about a famine which is raging—and which as a matter of fact took place in 1770. Hastings expresses his readiness to "apologize" to Nuncomar and ask for a postponement of the "trial." Francis replies by summoning him formally to appear on May 4 to answer fifty-three charges of bribery, embezzlement and illegal imprisonment.

The foundation for this farrago appears to be that in March 1775 Nuncomar responded to the manifest wishes of the majority of the Council by submitting through Francis papers which charged Hastings with gross corruption and enclosing a letter (a manifest forgery) from Mani Begum the widow of Mir Jafar, offering a bribe. The papers were sent to England and were placed in 1776 before the law officers of the Company who reported that the charges were palpably false. Nothing more was heard of them until 1789 when Burke founded a charge upon them which met with so little success that Hastings was unanimously acquitted upon it.

Scene 3 takes place on the evening of May 1. "Warren Hastings is unable to tell the victims to their faces what their fate is. The "victims" are "two Ambassadors of the Rohilla tribe." Now, the first Rohilla war had ended in June, 1774: and there was so little to criticize in Hastings' conduct of it, that the House of Commons refused to include it in the articles of impeachment. "We are next introduced in Scene 1 of Act 2 to Lady Marjorie Hike, whose surname is mercifully Englished into Hicks by the translators, and who is obviously intended to represent Mrs. Imhoff, the lady whom Hastings subsequently married. She is discovered in a garden pavilion, "practising with great diligence the song of 'Surabaya Johnny' to a banjo." After some preliminary conversation of a very unconventional kind with Cowper, Hastings enters in a bathing-robe. "Warren, build me quick a road to Bhawalpur," says Lady Marjorie Hike

who observes also that *The Times* has given Hastings the title of "our greatest organizer." Hastings replies: "It's a damned fascinating game to bore a tunnel through that filthy yellow jungle " a remark which, it may be said, is entirely in keeping with the style of conversation in which all the characters indulge throughout the play. Hastings leaves and Viscount Hike, "a tall man gloomy and elegant " arrives. He is on his way to England "to order some decent clothes:" and tells his wife that he has "squeezed an additional whack of money out of Warren as payment for your release." The "Ambassadors from Oudh " now enter on the scene and leave behind them a casket containing a great white jewel, "The Milk of Mowgli."

In Scene 2, on the night before May 4, "Warren Hastings attempts in vain to vindicate himself in the eyes of India." Impey has requisitioned troops, "so that the arrest of Nuncomar may be made without any fuss:" and Barwell is credited with the statement that "when it's a hundred degrees Fahrenheit perhaps the crookedst way is the straightest." Impey enters and the following conversation ensues:—

Hastings—At what hour will the court assemble?

Impey—At eleven o'clock.

Hastings—And when can the sentence be carried out?

Impey—The exceptional circumstances permit it to be done at seven o'clock in the morning.

The German dramatist is not content with this monstrous libel on the memory of Hastings and Impey. Nuncomar is admitted and in the presence of the Chief Justice, is informed by Hastings in so many words that he will be hanged. He leaves and is arrested outside the house.

The caption at the head of Scene 1 of Act 3 which is laid in Lady Marjorie's rooms is as follows: "A man may undermine the morality of a whole Empire with impunity: but no booty must be found in his house." Francis enters and begs Lady Marjorie to intercede with Hastings for the life of Nuncomar. Otherwise, he will prove that Hastings is filling his pockets. Francis departs, "covered with sweat elated," and Lady Marjorie endeavours in vain to get into touch with Hastings. (It is surprising to find that she does not telephone.)

In Scene 2, Hastings, Impey and Barwell are discovered together in the Governor-General's office. They are awaiting the news of Nuncomar's execution. This is brought by Cowper who asks for "a whisky " before he can give his account of the "Damned nerve-shaking business." Hastings is unmoved. The Embassy from Oudh come in: Hastings hands to them the signed agreement by which he undertakes to send the Company's troops against the Rohillas. They depart and Francis, Monson and Clavering enter. They announce that the Governor-General is "discharged from his post for murdering Rajah Nuncomar, Regent of Bengal." By way of answer, they hear the regiments marching past on their way to Oudh, and "stand horror struck. Francis then charges Lady Marjorie Hike with receiving "The Milk of Mowgli " from the Oudh Ambassadors as a bribe. She is sent for, and Hastings is actually represented as saying to his future wife; "India

must go to the dogs, because a prostitute wants to hang a few pieces of glass in front of her." He tells her that she must sail for England with her husband. Lady Marjorie pleads with him; and after a pause Hastings summons Francis, Barwell and Impey and informs them that the jewel has been pledged by Lady Marjorie with "the banker Omitchand" for a consignment of rice for "the distressed Rohillas." Francis disappears with the announcement that it is he, and not Lady Marjorie, who is leaving India at once: and Hastings is left congratulating himself upon the progress of the mysterious "Punjab Road."

The reviewer in *The Times* calls the play, of which we have given a synopsis, "extraordinary good drama:" and adds that it has been produced in Germany with considerable success "although also with liberal disregard of its purpose." What, it may again be asked, is that purpose? Is it because Baron Imhoff, and his wife were Germans that they are introduced under the ridiculous names of Viscount Hike and Lady Marjorie Hike? Why should Hastings be pilloried as a murderer? Why is it necessary that the characters should use the vulgarest and coarsest expressions? We understand that when the play was produced in Germany, the parts were played in costumes which were a caricature alike of the fashions of the period and of the dress which is supposed in Germany to be favoured by Englishmen and women of the present day.

That it is possible to write a play round the career of Warren Hastings and to write it without wholesale anachronisms and solecisms—to say nothing of an utter disregard of historical facts—it may be mentioned that on April 23 last such a play by Mr. Howard Peacey was performed for the first time at Wyndhams Theatre in London. The final act is set in London at the moment when the House of Commons has decided upon the impeachment; but nearly three-fourths of the action passes within the walls of a single room in Calcutta. Baroness Imhoff appears under that name: and she and the other historical characters are permitted to act and speak and dress as they acted, spoke and dressed in real life. If history is to be dished up on the stage, it is surely not too much to ask that some rein shall be placed upon the imagination of the dramatist, and that unjustifiable liberties shall not be taken with the truth.

EVAN COTTON.

Relation of the Capuchin Missions in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and East India (1644-1647).

By Father Ambrose of Rennes, O. Cap.
Translated from the Latin by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

This Relation was first published in *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, Romae, Curia Generalis, 71, Via Boncompagni, Vol. XLII, fasc. XI, Nov. 15, 1927, pp. 251-267. The Relation is preceded by a *Brevis Dilucidatio* (pp. 250-251), which, like the notes, I take to be by the anonymous editor.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, August, 1928.

SHORT EXPLANATION.

(P. 250, col. 1). In the year 1641, the new Province of Brittany having sprung from the Province of Tours, the Missions formerly entrusted to the sole Province of Tours were divided into two parts. One of these, the Custody of Aleppo, was given to the Province of Tours; the other, the Custody of Palestine, to the Province of Brittany (1).

The Custody of Aleppo, of which there is question in the *Relation* we shall publish, consisted of the following stations: Aleppo, Cairo, Nicosia in Cyprus, Larnaca in Cyprus, Diarbekir, Mossul, Bagdad, Mardin, Tauris, Ispahan, and in a broad sense, of the two residences recently erected at Surat and Madras. (col. 2.)

In 1644, the Minister General, Fr. Innocent of Calatagirone, sent, as Visitor of this Custody, Fr. Ambrose of Rennes, a member of the Tours Province. This appears clearly from the *Relation*, made by Fr. Ambrose himself in 1647 about his Visitation, which he addressed to his "Very Reverend Paternity," then residing in France, where "he was busy with the so hard affairs and visitation of our Order." The latter is not the Minister of the Tours Province, of whom he speaks indirectly at p. 27, but Fr. Innocent of Calatagirone, the Minister General, who went to France in 1647 to visit the Province of the Order there (2). (P. 251, col. 1)

(1) *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Minorum S. P. Francisci Capucinatorum*, t. V, p. 202; t. VII, pp. 299, 309.

(2) On the occasion of the Canonical Visitation made in France by Fr. Innocent, Pope Innocent X. addressed letters of commendation to His Most Christian Majesty, King Louis XVI, to the Queen-Mother Anne of Austria, to the King's uncle, Vedastus, Duke of Orleans, and to the Prime Minister Julius Cardinal Mazarin. These are quoted in *Bullarium*, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 195, sqq.

We find little about the author of this *Relation*. According to the (*Statistica Provinciae Turonensis*,) kept in the General Archives of the Order, he entered our Order on Dec. 14, 1610. He laboured with success as a preacher in the Province, chiefly among the heretics. We read in *Relatio generalis Missionis Pictaviensis* (3) written after 1727: "Rev. Father Ambrose of Rennes, a distinguished preacher, during eight full years of mission-work in the whole Province, has already saved from heresy at least two hundred and fifty persons; among them many of the nobility, and one, an elder in the sect of Calvin, made their profession [of faith] . . ." No other mention of him occurs in the extant documents of the ancient Tours Province.

We surmise that the good Father died on his return, perhaps at our residence of Ispahan in Persia, whence he sent his *Relation* to the Minister General. He scarcely hoped to return to France without a special help of God: doubtless, owing to the infirmities contracted on so long a journey, he felt his strength unequal to the difficulties by land and sea which were still to be overcome. In that difficult situation he thought it proper to send ahead to the Superior General a brief account of the state of the Mission and what concerned its progress; at the same time he promised to hasten as much as possible his return to France. But, we think that death overtook him meanwhile, probably about 1648.

He did not die altogether. The memory of his labours yet lives in the very beautiful *Relation* he left behind. With it revive also the apostolic labours of several Missionaries, of the chief ones whom our Order gave to the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* during the course of the 17th century, as Fathers Bonaventura of Lude, and Ephrem of Nevers, of whose work he gives an admirable description. (*P. 251, col. 2*)

The reader will at once be struck by the excellence of this *Relation*, not only for the information it gives on the manner of travelling, the customs of the peoples, the towns and countries visited by the narrator, but chiefly for the questions directly concerning the apostolate, as knowledge of the languages, the customs of the natives, the external conditions of the work of the missionaries, *e.g.*, the relations of the Missionaries with the infidels and the dissident Christians, and (the situation arising from) the Portuguese Patronage. As he himself declares, "he relates nothing whatever of which he was not an eye-witness, or which he did (not) himself hear from very trustworthy persons; he relates everything with as much simplicity and candour as if he were at the point of death, about to give an account of his life to his God."

We publish this *Relation* after the manuscript copy kept in the Public Library of Aix in Provence, No. 1284. The Rev. Fr. Armel of Etel, of the Province of Paris, who has rendered great service to the history of our Order in France, had it copied for our purpose. It contains 27 pages in 8vo. We leave the place-names as they are written. They are easily

(3) In the General Archives of the Order, Section: *Gallia antiqua*, II, Prov. Turonensis.

brought back to the modern spelling, *e.g.*, *Moussol* for Mossul, *Spahan* for Ispahan, *Barut* for Beyrouth, *Souratte* for Surat.

* * * *

BRIEF AND TRUE RELATION OF THE VISITATION MADE BY FATHER FRIAR AMBROSE OF RENNES, CAPUCHIN, A MISSIONARY OF THE TOURS PROVINCE, IN EGYPT, SYRIA, CALDEA, PERSIA AND EAST INDIA IN THE YEARS 1644, 45, 46, 47.

[P. 1] (4) Very Reverent Father,

As I scarcely hope I shall ever get back to France without a special help of God, and I clearly feel from the infirmities contracted in so long a journey that I have not the strength to overcome the hardships still awaiting me by land and sea, yet, to satisfy your desire (*P. 252, col. 1*), as signified by Your letter, I continue my journey, and I shall not cease hastening, as much as I can, my return to France, in order that I may be able to converse with Your Most Rev. Paternity and tell you in your presence, by word of mouth, of the many things referring to our Mission; but, as it is not sure that death will not overtake me meanwhile (not knowing the hour, we expect it every minute), I thought it necessary to send to Your Most Rev. Paternity a very brief account of the state of our Mission and of the things concerning its progress and the advancement of this Apostolic ministry, which is most pleasing to God and so conformable to the intentions and zeal of my Seraphic Father St. Francis. With all possible affection I therefore beg of Your Most Reverend Paternity to hear me patiently, and to credit what I shall write in these four or five pages: for I shall not relate anything whatever of which I was not an eye-witness or which I did (not) hear myself from very trustworthy persons. I shall relate everything with as much simplicity and candour [P. 2] as if I were on the point of death, about to give an account of my life to my God, whom I revere and acknowledge in the person of Your Most Rev. Paternity.

IN EGYPT.

So then from Marseilles I arrived at Alexandria of Egypt, once a most famous town, but now quite destroyed, except for the gates and the walls which are still entire. Here are seen the famous column of Pompey, the needle of Cleopatra, carved with Egyptian and symbolic characters, and similar to the one standing at Rome in the Piazza (*platea*), the ruins of that portico built in the sea by Cleopatra on an infinite number of porphyry columns, the Church of St. Athanasius now turned into a mosque, the cistern in which the Saint was hidden, the chair of St. Mark in the small Church of the Cophts, part of the column stained with the blood of St. Catherine in the Church of the Greeks, the ruins of Cleopatra's palace, and, (*P. 252, col. 2*) as they say, of the palace of King Codrus, the father of St. Catherine, and other such antiquities, which it would be too long to describe.

(4) The original pagination is shown in square brackets.—H.H.

Having greeted the French Consul, who received me with much honour in his house, I was given a janissary and the necessary viaticum, and I left at once the next day, at his advice, for Great Cairo, in contradistinction from old Cairo, which is nearly destroyed. Embarking on a small boat hired at our expense, we sailed (*navigamus*) on an arm of the Nile which flows into the Mediterranean near Rosetta, a pretty big and well-built town, chiefly along the harbour formerly called Canopus. New or Great Cairo is a very fine and populous town. It has one thousand and more large mosques with high and artistically built towers. In this city, besides the Moors or Mahometans, an infinite number of Jews and other infidel foreigners from all over the world, there are many Christians, called Cophts, the most ancient of all Christians, Greeks, Armenians and Roman Christians from France and Italy.

The Mission works with much fruit among the Cophts, who are rather docile. Their Patriarch, who styles himself Bishop of Alexandria, a simple and good man, allows ours to deal freely with his Christians [P. 3] and to treat of religion. On Sundays, Ours preach without any opposition in their churches in Arabic. The Mission also works in two or three monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Macarius, twelve or fifteen miles from Cairo: but the Missionary must take care not to go alone; for fear of the Arabs, who would either rob or kill him, he must always take with him one of the religious of those Monasteries, who will accompany him willingly with others, laymen. Near those monasteries there are many towns with a mixed population of Cophts and Turks, all of whom receive us kindly in their houses and deal with us (*P. 253, col. 1*) more freely than in the city itself. In these towns we preach, teach the Catechism, hear confessions, and perform the duties of the Mission, not without great utility to souls, provided our dealings with them be humble, gentle, modest, full of affability and charity, and provided also we conform ourselves to their customs as regards food, wherein they are extremely austere.

Two Missionaries, who would learn Arabic, and, if possible, Turkish, would find there a very abundant (5) harvest, and opportunity for exercising their zeal. If one of them should study the common Greek, an easy language, he could more easily deal with the Greeks, although they are troublesome and hate us more than the Cophts and even the Turks. But, as they have many churches in that city, it might be that, in course of time, with the permission of their Patriarch, occasion be given for preaching in one of them. At least the Greeks would be helped who from Cyprus, Candia, Chios, and other islands of the Archipelago frequent the town for trade and often ask from Ours to give them the sacraments of confession and of the Eucharist according to the rite of the Roman Church, as I saw when at Cairo, where we have a very big house and a well-adorned chapel where we celebrate Mass, and [P. 4] regularly perform, as in other hospices,

(5) The author often uses *satis* with an adjective or adverb in what seems to be a superlative sense, as *assez* in old French and *assai* in Italian. For once I translate it here by *very*.—*H.H.*

with great peace of mind and devotion the exercises of religion, nay with such exemplary life and poverty that the French and Italian merchants admire our manner of life and provide us abundantly for God's sake with all the necessaries of life. I shall not say anything else about the antiquities of that town, and of Old Cairo, formerly called Babylon of Egypt. There are books full of such narratives, and to keep back Your Most Reverend Paternity in reading them, chiefly when You are busy with such hard affairs and the visitation of our Order, would be abusing Your kindness and patience. (*P. 253, col. 2*)

I saw the very devout garden, called Mataria, three or four miles from Cario, where it is believed the Lord Christ with the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph lived seven years of exile in Egypt. I celebrated Mass in the fine Church of the Cophts at Old Cairo, on a small subterranean altar where they say the Blessed Virgin had often deposited the Infant Christ. I saw those immense Pyramids, which alone, of the seven wonders so celebrated in all antiquity, are still extant. I entered one of them, the larger one, with burning lights, and, going up, with great difficulty, along tunnels skilfully made with large squared stones forming that entire mass of pyramids, I penetrated up to a large room, ingeniously placed at the very navel of that Pyramid. Here nothing else is found than an empty sepulchre of stone, eight or ten feet long, wherein was to be laid the body of the Pharaoh who cast out of Egypt the sons of Israel, after the miracles wrought by Moses about the Nile and the valley or vast plain of the town of Memphis, vestiges of which still exist nine miles from Cairo, beyond the Nile and the country of Cairo, in a great town which I passed going to the Pyramids.

I saw also near the Pyramids the head of the statue or idol of Memphis; it is of monstrous size and formerly wrought miracles [*miracula* for *oracula*?] for that senseless people. Being empty within, it can hold three or four men, who, by a secret tunnel into which I penetrated, used to go stealthily from the greater Pyramid [*P. 5*] up to that idol and there gave oracles to inquirers, as if the god himself had spoken. I saw the granaries made, they say, by the Patriarch Joseph in time of famine, but to me they appeared of doubtful authority. I did not, however, see the well of Joseph in the very citadel [*area*: for *arce*?] of Cairo, though, while I was at Cairo, the Chaplain of the French Consul saw it and gave me a full description of it. (*P. 254, col. 1*) The Turks do not easily allow access to the citadel and the well. They fear that the water of that well, which serves for the whole citadel, be spoiled by the Christians and rendered poisonous.

Having finished my visitation there, I took a companion who knew Arabic perfectly, and by another arm of the Nile went down to Damietta, formerly Pelusium. Here we have a residence and two missionaries, who labour chiefly for the conversion of the Greeks of that city. They have a small church, in which I assisted at their divine offices and at the mass. That arm of the Nile which, about 12 miles below Cairo, separates from the other, and forms with the desert from Damietta up to Alexandria the very famous Delta of ancient writers, is like the other full of towns and villages

on both sides along the bank. The soil along the Nile is well cultivated and planted with palm-trees and other fruit-bearing trees, as far as the Nile reaches when it overflows, which happens every year about the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the month of September. At the time, having previously obtained with much ceremony and festivity the permission of the Bacha or Viceroy of Egypt, they make channels (*cuniculos*) and rivulets across the country to conduct the water of the Nile, which irrigates the fields on a breadth of two or three leagues on both sides. The fields, expecting no rain from heaven, are made productive by the Nile to a degree which is wonderful. The other parts are the deserts of Thebais and of Schita Nitra. The country is most productive for every kind of pulse, and these are carried up to Constantinople. The air is very wholesome; except a great eye-ache affecting nearly all the inhabitants and foreigners, it is not much subject to other diseases. The people are very untrustworthy and extremely given to robbery; hence a European Christian cannot safely travel without a janissary [P. 6.]

The town of Damiata is almost entirely destroyed, as are the other towns, with a few exceptions, which I traversed. Formerly it was most famous; (*P. 254, col. 2*) now it is a small emporium frequented by Egyptians and the islanders of the Archipelago. The Nile bathes part of the walls yet extant and flows towards the Mediterranean Sea, where its very wholesome waters mix with the briny sea between two castles formerly built by King St. Louis; one of them still stands; the other is nearly destroyed. At Damiata the Mission works for the salvation of souls and the utility of the Greeks, who there are pretty docile; for they have not a high opinion of holiness of their priests and religious, owing to their avarice and drunkenness and other too open excesses: they reverence our fathers for their austerity, poverty, learning and zeal of souls, and often complain that they cannot receive from their priests the sacraments of confession and of the eucharist unless they first pay a very big sum of money. One of ours, who does Mission work there, wrote that during the Easter Feasts he heard the confessions of many; they confess willingly to our Fathers and will do so in future: for our Fathers give the Sacraments gratis and with utmost charity and patience, without any distinction of persons.

IN SYRIA.

From Damiata, where I stayed twenty days, waiting for a ship, the journey being safer and shorter by sea than by land, I set out on a galiot to go to Sidon, hugging the whole Palestine coast. We disembarked at the port of Jaffa, and at the port of ancient Tyre, now Sour, inhabited by a very few poor fishermen. We passed by the town of St. John of Accon or of Acre, formerly Ptolemais, where stands only the Church of the Templars, the walls of which are entire; but the church is deserted and is daily profaned by the infinite uncleanness of the Turks. It is about six leagues from Nazaret. There too along the sea are the remarkable ruins of a very strong citadel (*P. 255, col. 1*) of the Master of the Knights of Jerusalem, with many

houses in which the Knights lived together in a Convent, the ruins of which excite the admiration of the beholder. I passed also near the foot of Mount Carmel, where the Carmelite Fathers have a Church and little cells in the rock.

Since the whole of Palestine belongs to the Mission of the Fathers of the Province of Brittany, I went in another small ship from Sidon, where I stayed a few days, to Beryt and from there to Tripoli of Syria. I visited Mount Lebanon (*Libani*), three leagues from Tripoli, and saw the remaining cedars. I was present at the election of the Patriarch of the Maronites, who calls himself Patriarch of Antioch. The election took place in the greater monastery, called Coenobium, where there is a very fine Church cut out of the rock, with two belfries (*campanis*) also cut out of the rock. This election was made with great solemnity by four Maronite Bishops and a numerous concourse of the whole of that people, which lives at Tripoli, Barut, Sydon, and in the very beautiful and fertile Lebanon Mountains. At the election one of ours, Fr. Britius (6), discoursed in Arabic, congratulating the new Patriarch, who insisted with us that we should testify by authentic deed that his election had been canonical. To the Patriarch's great satisfaction, I gave it him at once, in Latin, signed by three Capuchins and two Carmelites (there) present. The next day we conducted him (*P. 255, col. 2*) honourably to Tripoli, to make reverence to the Bacha, according to the existing custom. He sent the testimonial letter to Rome, in proof (of his election) and to obtain the sovereign Pontiff's confirmation. I omit here many other things which I saw in that sea tract, and go back to speak briefly of the things of our Mission.

From Tripoli, in seven days and travelling by land with a caravan, I arrived at Alep. Here I was received by ours with much charity, and performed with great peace and satisfaction the work enjoined by my superiors. I found all the Fathers so fervent in the work of the Mission that there was no need of exhortation to animate and strengthen them. Here it was proposed unanimously [*P. 8*] that the Custodians and Superiors should no longer be appointed for life, as was the custom heretofore, but for three years, as in the other parts, at Alep, and elsewhere in the Orient. They notified this to the Rev. Father Provincial, who approved of it and ordered it to be executed. For, at the death of Father Bonaventura, who had been many years Custodian, he who had accompanied me on my journey as far as Persia was appointed in his place. Alep is a big town, one of the chief ones of the Turkish dominions. It has a spacious citadel, (well) supplied with arms. It lies 76 miles from the sea or from the

(6) Fr. Britius of Rennes published in 1653 and 1671, at the expense of the S. C. de Propaganda Fide, an Arabic Epitome of the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Cardinal Baronius; for forty-six years he was busy preparing an Arabic edition of the Holy Bible, which the S. C. de Propaganda Fide published in 1671. He died at Saida on Febr. 18, 1671. Cf. *Correspondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs Missionnaires et Religieux de l'Ordre des Capucins*, publ. by Fr. Apollinaire de Valence, O. M. Cap., pp. 320, 324, Paris, 1892; Fr. Clemente da Terzorio, O. M. Cap., *Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini*, t. V, pp. 87, 130-134, Rome, 1919,

harbour of Alexandretta of Syria, and has a French, Venetian and English Consul, with many merchants who give us alms with charity.

Here, there are many Maronites, Greeks, Syrians, Nestorians, Jacobites and Armenians. While he was alive, Rev. Father Bonaventura carried on his Mission for sixteen years, and he won so much praise that his death was much regretted by all the Christians, who in tears accompanied him to the grave (7). Every (*P. 256. col. 1*) Sunday he preached in the Church of the Maronites, with so much success that even the schismatics liked to hear him and that he was invited to religious discussions, at which he was shown the highest reverence and honour. He catechised the little children in public and in private, in the houses, where men and women of more advanced age would assemble and eagerly hear him explain familiarly the articles of the faith. He would visit the Turkish notabilities, who held him in honour for the affability of his conversation, his venerable appearance, his polite manners, and chiefly for his knowledge of Turkish, which like Arabic was to him familiar.

We must note here that without Turkish, a language widely known all over the Orient up to the Indies, it is impossible to win the familiarity or friendship of the nobles: for, though many know Arabic, or the Vulgar tongue, they do not condescend to use it in visits of friends, but speak only Turkish, which is considered more refined and used at the Porte of the Sultan of Constantinople and among the courtiers. We must say the same of Persian in the palaces of the King of East India, chiefly at the court of the very powerful King the Great Mogol, because [*P. 9*] it is considered more elegant by the grandees and is more common among them.

The Hospice of Alep is the headquarters and centre of our Mission; hence, it must be maintained with care, and be filled with excellent Missionaries, who can be sent by the Custodian to other residences as opportunity and the needs of places require. Three Missionaries at most, or four, with a lay Brother can live there, as the house is large and the cells very convenient; they can live partly on alms daily begged according to our rule, and partly on the generosity of the Most Christian King who furnishes a sufficient maintenance to all our Oriental Missions. They exercise their Mission among the Maronites, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians and others, who, though using distinct languages among themselves, speak however all in familiar conversation either Arabic or Turkish. (*P. 256, col. 2*)

IN MESOPOTAMIA.

After a fortnight's stay there, taking occasion of a good strong caravan going to Babylon, I started with a companion and a lay Brother. We traversed the whole of Mesopotamia from the Euphrates to the Tigris, though not without difficulties and dangers from the Arabs and Turcomani, who

(7) Fr Bonaventura a Lude died in 1645; he was succeeded as Custodian of Aleppo by Fr Silvester of St. Aignan. Cf. *Correspondance de Peiresc, op. cit.*, p. 324; Clemente da Terzorio, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

always waylay the caravans and try to despoil them of their goods. One night they tried it, but without success. We were well armed with escopets, lances and arrows. Our Merchants and some Janissaries rushed up at these robbers and wounded many. Having caught one of them, they took him to the city of Bire, where we crossed the Euphrates, and handed him over for punishment to the Magistrates. What happened to him I know not, since the caravan continued its journey the next day.

We passed through Orpha, anciently Edessa. The Jews call it Ur of the Chaldeans, but rather foolishly, it seems to me, since it (Orpha) is in Mesopotamia, and not in Chaldea, unless they want to say, as [P. 10] I heard from some, that it was first built by Abraham the Chaldean. Here there are the ruins of the great monastery of St. Ephrem, the deacon of Edessa. Here is a church of the Armenians, the ruins of which show it was once a grand edifice: we were entertained in it during eight days, receiving alms from the Armenians, who received us very kindly; and they admitted us daily to their prayers and ceremonies, laying carpets for us and giving us the most honourable place after the Bishop. The Syrians also have a Church and a Bishop, whom I went to greet, and who received me kindly in his little house.

The walls of Orpha are entire and very strong, but the city within the walls is for a great part destroyed by the Turks. From Orpha we continued our journey through the very vast, but almost deserted plains of Mesopotamia up to Assyria, and we arrived at a certain city which they call (*P. 257, col. 1*) Moussol. It is built among the ruins of ancient Ninive, as appears from the vast and spacious plain on both sides of the Tigris, where are still seen traces of the buildings, or rather of the ruins, of Canoe, and some vaults and subterraneous buildings, which owing to the short time I could not examine, and besides there is not as much freedom for strangers, chiefly for Christians, to examine carefully all those antiquities and to roam about. Moussol is washed on one side by the Tigris, which flows towards Babylon, a distance of ten days, and has on both banks large cities and towns quite destroyed and desolate. About twenty miles from the city of Moussol, a mountain is seen, burning continually and belching forth at night sulphurous flames. We arrived safely at Babylon, greatly longing to see our Fathers: from Alep to Babylon we had had to live 40 days and more taking only bread, water and rice, and sleeping on the ground in the open.

At Moussol, where there are many Armenians, Nestorians and Jacobites with their special Churches, we had lately a very small and pretty convenient hospice, where three of ours had lived five or six years, reaping no small fruit among the schismatics, living on alms, preaching in their Churches and hearing many confessions. But, some occasion having been given or received, and owing, it is believed, to the jealousy and hatred of the schismatic priests, [P. 11] ours were expelled from a small hut built by them for the greater convenience of the place. The three Fathers were thrown into prison by the Bacha and were badly treated there, being given

only bread and water, and an enormous sum of money being exacted from the Christians. Finally they were expelled, and, though I brought with me from the Sultan of Constantinople letters-patent and an express order to make us be readmitted into the town and into the very house which had been the occasion of our expulsion, and though we were well (*P. 257, col. 2*) received by the Bacha who had succeeded to the other, and showed him the Emperor's order, and he gave us leave to remain in the town, yet it was quite impossible to get the order executed; the Christians themselves opposed us strongly, not that they do not show us much esteem and honour, but they feared other vexation after our return, on account of the exercise of our Mission. That place was therefore abandoned by order of my Superiors until some other time when it will please God to re-open the gate for our Mission among those Christians, who are very docile and have high opinion of our ability and sanctity.

So, leaving Moussol, where our Fathers had suffered persecution, and where we did not insist further with the Christians, who had too recently been punished with a pecuniary fine of two thousand ducats and more, we arrived, as I said, at Bagdad or Babylon, situated on the Tigris. Here, in our house, I found only one Missionary with a lay Brother, who does Mission work among the Armenians, Nestorians and Jacobites, and receives his daily sustenance from the very schismatics, thanks to the solicitude of the Christians, who take care that nothing be wanting to ours. Our church is their parish, chiefly of the Jacobites, who receive from ours all the sacraments after the Roman rite. Formerly our house was rather convenient and ample; it had been given us by the Persians before Bagdad (8); it was given back to us and confirmed to us by the Turks; but now it reflects more our poverty: for we were forced to pull down about half and the best rooms, lest we should give occasion to the soldiers in the town [*P. 12*] of lodging at our place and of ill-treating as they used to do, our brothers, committing against them there many wrongs, which they bore patiently. (*P. 258, col. 1*)

They enjoy more freedom and tranquillity now, though, as regards conversations, it is not so easy to speak with the Turks or even to go out in town without continual fear of being ill-treated by the Janissaries. The Missionary who is obliged to leave the house must take very good care not to have drunk wine or brandy: for, if a Janissary discovers it from his breath, he will be put to great shame and will at times go home with a beating, as happened to a Missionary who, after saying Mass, went at once into the town for some urgent affairs to speak to the Cadi, or supreme judge: he was found out from the smell of the wine, and was obliged to go back with shame. Ours do not use wine at all, except at Mass; it is not for sale, and cannot be brought into the town except secretly, so that it is difficult to find any for celebrating Mass; and so, our sole conversation is with the Christians who, though schismatics, communicate all of them in the

(8) To be supplemented by: had been taken by the Turks.

Church with ours. Their priests make no difficulty, and, if they happen to fall ill, they call at once our missionaries to receive consolation, and, when the illness grows serious, to receive extreme unction.

This Babylon of Chaldea is that ancient town so famous in sacred and profane writers. It is now destroyed to such an extent that the ruins of it hardly appear; it is situated about twenty miles from this new town, like that town built in the plain of Sennaar and so famous among the Turks of which some vestiges are still shown, *e.g.*, bricks, bitumen, and a high and spacious place, though, in my opinion, all these things are very doubtful. So then, the present new Babylon is surrounded with walls and towers, gates, ditches and a very (*utcumque*) strongly fortified citadel. On one side, towards the west, the Tigris flows near the walls of the town, pursuing its course to the Arabian Sea or Persian Gulf. It is joined by the Euphrates about a day's journey from the town of Babylon, and it flows into the sea at the city of Balsora. It has a bridge made of boats joined together. (*P.* 258, *col.* 2) It has a suburb with gardens [*P.* 13] watered with the water of the Tigris, where grow (*8b*) and other fruit-bearing trees.

IN PERSIA.

After finishing my visitation, I started with a caravan going to Spahan, the Court of Persia. Though usually it is a journey of 40 days, I was delayed 56 days, owing to such an abundance of snow that it is scarcely credible what hardships we endured on that journey and what wretchedness of hunger and cold we suffered. More than a hundred times I fell into the heaps of snow and was buried in the snow up to my neck, and, as the precipices of very high mountains could not then be seen and avoided, I often wallowed in the snow until I fainted, and surely it is an evident miracle of the divine protection that we did not lose our life in the snows, the rocks and precipices, chiefly as three men of the caravan were smothered.

Finally, we arrived at Spahan, the Royal city. Very vast, it is girt with walls of mud and sun-dried bricks, without ditches, rampart, bulwarks or towers. Here is the seat of the kingdom and of the King of the Persians. It is situated in a very large plain on all sides surrounded by very high mountains and rocks very hard of access. It is watered by a small river, which they conduct by ditches into the city (where every house mostly has a garden adjoining) and also to the neighbouring farms (*villas*) for the irrigation of the fields. It never rains near Spahan; but, through the industry of the cultivators and their continual care of conducting (the water) here and there roundabout, the country abounds in wheat, barley, wine and fruits of every sort, and of the same kind as ours. All the houses are made of earth and sun-dried bricks; but the buildings are solid and last a hundred years and more. Outside they appear mean, but they are adorned within with gold, paintings (*picturis*) and rare colours

(8b) Some name of tree appears to be omitted here.—H.H.

applied so skilfully as to give great pleasure to the onlooker. The King's palace (*P. 259, col. 1*) is not of another material, but inside it is nothing but gold all round. The reason why the houses are made of mud is not scarcity of stone (for they have plenty of black marble, jasper, and other stones: all the neighbouring mountains and rocks [*P. 14*] contain marble), but because mud and bricks are more easy to handle there; when they have become hard, they do not yield.

Properly Spahan is not in Persia, but bordering on Persia. It is on the limits of the Kingdom of the Parthians. Nor was it formerly the royal city, but only a town. Sixty years ago, the Kings of the Persians fixed their seat there on account of the pleasantness of the place and the small river. From a small town it has become a very big and very opulent city, the Metropolis of the Kingdom. It has market-places, porticoes, and a very fine square before the King's palace, and is stocked with countless goods brought from India and the whole Orient. There is also built over the river a bridge so artistic that I have not seen any other to compare with it, not for length, but for artistic structure. Chiras, a ten days' journey from Spahan, was also formerly a big city. It was the Metropolis of the Kingdom of the Persians. Its site is very pleasant; the soil produces fruits in abundance. It is now going to ruin owing to the absence of the King and of the courtiers. I passed through it, going to Ormus.

At Spahan we have a complete convent, a devout church, the choir, cells, a refectory, very convenient workshops (*officinas*) and arched, (*arcuatas*), as the manner of building is all over Persia, where wood is very rare. It has a very fine garden and very large; for it contains a big vineyard, which gives us wine enough for the whole year. Here it is necessary to make use of money, as there are no people who can or wish to give alms; I did not however, remark any excess; everything is furnished with strictness, and, as much as possible, according to need, from the King's alms. Here there are usually four Missionaries with a lay Brother. All do their Mission (*P. 529, col. 2*) with as much freedom as if they were in France. They converse very freely with the Persians, discuss with the doctors of the law, called Moullas, about the Faith, and the Alcoran, and with so much confidence that they often admire the affability and courtesy of the Persians. They admit them freely to their houses for greetings and chats; they come to our convent and there discuss sundry questions about the Trinity, [*P. 15*] the Incarnation, the Resurrection and Mahomet, as familiarly as if they were Christians.

In this city, besides three or four Roman Christians and Dutch and English heretics, there is an infinite number of Armenians, whom King Schec Abbas transferred from Armenia to this town, assigning them a separate place, two miles from the town, which is called New Julfa, to distinguish it from the Julfa whence they were carried hither. At Julfa they have twelve very large churches, adorned with various paintings (*picturis*), and in the town they have four or five. There are also Gevrs (*Gevri*), worshippers of the Sun. Our Missionaries converse with all

these, discuss with their Vertabrets (*Vertabretis*), that is preachers of religion, but very ignorant, and with their priests, who are also unlearned; they visit them, and to some they administer secretly the sacrament of confession; but their Bishops are opposed and most of the priests, who hate the Pontiff and Church of Rome more than the Calvinists and Lutherans themselves, so much so that I wondered why at Rome the Armenians are tolerated, and received so charitably even, since they vomit such opprobrious things on the Sovereign Pontiff, the Cardinals, the Church and the Religious.

There is also here a convent of the Fathers of St. Augustine, Portuguese of the Province of Goa, and another of Discalced Carmelites from Italy. Four or five months ago the Fathers of the Society of Jesus also came here from France to found a residence, but the matter is not yet settled. So, when I had finished the visitation and determined what was required for the good of the Mission, (*P. 260, col. 1*) my companion returned to Cairo, where he was Superior, and I remained at Spahan, according to the intention of my Superiors.

IN INDIA.

Meanwhile I received from the Rev. Father Provincial a letter in which he urgently asked me to go, if possible, over to India, to visit the two Missionaries of our Province who have lived there 10 years, and to examine carefully and soon (*mature*) whether there was hope of a large Mission in those parts. So, to comply with the will of my Superiors, I set out from Spahan alone, the house refusing me a companion, because of the requirements of the place and other reasons. I spent 35 days on the journey by land, and arrived at the harbour of Ormus, called Bender Abassy, where the ships of the English and Dutch come at certain fixed times of the year, that is from the month of November to the end of April, the Sea, that is the Persian Gulf, being closed and contrary to navigators during the other months.

Here I embarked on an English ship and in twenty days crossed the Persian Gulf and parts of the Arabic Sea, a distance of 40 English leagues. Finally, I arrived at a port of India, called Sovali, 12 miles from Souratte, which is the first and chief port of the Mogol Kingdom. Fr. Zeno, having heard of my arrival, at once came to visit me here, to take me to Souratte in a covered carriage, drawn by two white oxen, as the custom of travelling is in those parts, where horses, camels and mules are very rare (9). (*P. 260, col. 2*) Souratte is a vast town, not surrounded by any walls. In the middle of the river it has a castle, subject to the Mogol, the most powerful King of East India, who has there a governor and a garrison of soldiers

(9) He is Fr. Zeno of Baugé, who with Fr. Ephrem of Nevers was the first among the Capuchins to settle in India, at the town of Surat, then the first port of India (1639). He died at Madras in 1687. Cf. Fr. Rocco da Cesinale, O. M. Cap., *Storia delle Missioni dei Cappuccini*, t. III, p. 298. Rome, 1873; *Correspondence de Peiresc*, *op. cit.*, p. 328; A. Jann, O. M. Cap., *Die Katholischen Missionen in Indien, China and Japan*, p. 195 seq., Paderborn, 1915; *India and its Missions* by the Capuchin Mission Unit, p. 105 sq., New York, 1923.

for holding that Port (*illius Scalae*) (10). There are here Dutch and English, many merchants from Persia and other parts of India, Bananians (11) of various sects and languages, who worship their idols in pagodas, the most superstitious of men and the shrewdest of merchants.

Rev. Father Zeno has a hired house, in which he adorned a small chapel for celebrating Mass. He has few Roman Christians, but many Armenians, who come every year from Persia to Souratte, to go thence for trade to all parts of India: to the Kingdom of Cambaia, also subject to the aforesaid King, to Guzerate, Visapour, Bacamfour, Colconda, and other Kingdoms, to Goa, also to Cochin, Bengal, Pegu, and also to Japan and China. When the Armenians stay at Souratte, they frequent freely our church, hear mass and the sermon, which Father Zeno preaches every Sunday in Portuguese. They make their confession to the Father, who hopes to obtain soon from the daughter of the Mogol King, now the Lady of Souratte, leave to build a house and church, where he may more conveniently celebrate the divine offices, and exercise his ministrations with companions long expected from France, but not yet obtained, I know not why.

He also receives with all charity the foreign religious who every year go from Goa to Agra, Sind (*in Sindi*) and elsewhere, or who from Persia go to Goa, and have no other hospice than our house. If Your Very Reverend Paternity resolved firmly and fast, not only to found the Indian Mission (*P. 261, col. 1*) but to maintain it for good, the hospice of Souratte is not only convenient, but absolutely necessary, because it is easier to go to India from Persia than from Lisbon, where many have already met with refusal, chiefly the Italians, for many reasons which I learned in India, but which it is not expedient to express here. I know also from reliable knowledge and experience that in future the Dutch and English will not take to the Indies from the port of Ormus or from Balsora any Religious of whatever order or nationality except the French Capucins, for many political considerations which they adduce, and I lately saw Carmelite Fathers repulsed from the ships with insults and shame and a thousand indignities. The Portuguese do the same, by order of the Viceroy of India, D. Philip Mascaregnas, who expressly forbade to admit at the Long Port (*in Portu Longo*), three stages from Ormus, at Port Ric, and Balsora, any Religious going to India, except only the native Portuguese, which, as I saw, he carries out strictly. And a public proclamation was lately made at Goa, by order of the King of Portugal, saying that all non-Portuguese Religious [*P. 18*] should return to Europe travelling on board Portuguese ships. This order was opposed not without murmur and scandal by the Carmelites, the Theatines, the Rev. Archbishop of Myrrha, a Franciscan, (12) saying that they were Missionaries of the Pope, from whom

(10) The Emperor of India was then Shah Jehan, who at Agra, on the bank of the Jumna, erected to his wife Mumtaz Mahal a marble mausoleum, called Taj Mahal, so splendid that the like of it is not found in the whole world.

(11) From the Hindusthani word *Baniyā*: merchant.

(12) Antonias de S. Felice, archbishop of Myra *in partibus infidelium*.

they have the power of exercising their Missions in all parts of the world, even in spite of opposition from Kings, Prelates and others. Whether that is true, they will see themselves. However, the question is not settled, and they remain at Goa, even with scandal, excepting the Rev. Provincial of the Carmelite Fathers, who is of Verona; they sent him away, and I saw him at Spahan, where he now lives. I very much suspect and fear that the Capucins, whom, as I was told, (*P. 261, col.2*) Your Very Reverend Paternity sent to Lisbon to sail for India, will get a rebuff (13).

To return to my interrupted narrative, I had decided to remain six or seven months at Souratte, until the rains, which are continual there in the months of June, July, August, and September, should cease and I should have again a suitable season for returning to Persia. Getting the opportunity of an English ship going direct to Madraspatan, where resides the Rev. Father Ephrem of Nevers (14), a Missionary of my Province, I set out in the hope of returning by another English ship. I passed through Goa, where our ship cast anchor, unloaded some goods, and took in water, and I stayed three days there with the Franciscan Fathers, *de Caputio* (15), as they are called, not the Recollects or Soccolantes of Italy. They received me with much kindness in their convent of the Mother of God, (*P. 262, col. 1*) to distinguish it from two other converts which they have at the extremity of the island (16).

I make no description of Goa, because I was there a very short time. I know, however, that at Goa there are three convents of the Augustinians, three of the Paulists or Jesuits, and in the island of Salsede, near to Goa, one with 30 rectories or parishes which the Rev. Paulist Fathers, who possess the whole of that Island, rule and administer, one of Discalced Carmelites, two of St. Francis of the Observance, three of Dominicans,

(13) They are Frs. Zacharias a Finale, Prosper a Reggio, and the lay Brother Ignatius a Valsasna, sent to India on April 25, 1645. On their arrival at Lisbon, the Portuguese Government refused to allow them to go to the East Indies, in spite of the repeated instances of the S.C. de Propaganda Fide, and also of Cardinal d'Este. Finally, when they had in vain waited two years for the permission to start, the Sacred Congregation ordered them to go to our Mission of Aleppo.

(14) Fr. Ephrem of Nevers, one of the chief Missionaries of the Order of Minors Capuchins in the 17th century, knew Persian, Arabic, English and Portuguese. He was acceptable to all: Catholics, heretics, chiefly the English residing at Madras, and the infidels. About his detention in the prison of the Holy Inquisition at Goa, for false allegations and reasons, cf. Fr. Rocco da Cesinale, *op cit.*, p. 312 sq., and Fr. A. Jann, *op. p.* 197 sq.

(15) The Friars Minor of the "strictest observance" were called Friars *de Capucio* (of the cowl). They began in Spain at the end of the 15th century, under John of Guadalupe, and spread in Portugal in the next century. They wore a peaked cowl, whence also their name: Friars Minor of the Observance, called Capuchins. They were under the obedience of the Minister General of the Observants, but there was no connection between them and the Order of Minor Capuchin Friars, which was first approved by Clement VII, on July 3, 1528.

(16) R. M. Telles, *Os Franciscanos no Oriente e seus Conventos*, p. 3, Nova-Goa, 1922; Idem, *Poverello de Assis*, p. 33, Nova-Goa, 1926; A. Dias, *Serafim de Assis*, p. 87: *Franciscanos em Goa e seus conventos*, Ribandar, 1926; F. X. da Costa, *Anais franciscanos em Bardés*, p. 11, Nova-Goa, 1926; F. X. Gomes Uta, *Subsidios para a Historia da Diocese de Damão*, in the periodical *L'era* 1^oto. April-May, 1926, Nova-Goa.

three of Capucins (17), one of the Theatines, and one of the Religious (*Religiosorum*) of St. Augustine. Therefore, since there is such a large number of Religious at Goa, I do not see why it be so necessary to found there a hospice of Capucins.

From Goa we continued our route through the Indian Ocean, and we passed [P. 19] within sight of Cochin, Cananor (*Cananos* in MS.), and Cranganore; we went beyond the Cape of Comorin, where there are nearly always storms, thunderings rains, and unbearable heats; we experienced these, going and returning, not without great risk of life, and going all round the island of Ceilan, where grows the cinnamon, and nowhere else, I believe, is it found in such plenty. Finally, one arrives at the coast of the Gangetic Sea, called *Golpho de Bengale*, within sight of the sea-tract called *Costa* (*Conta* in MS.) *de Coromandel*, where is situated, almost in the centre of it, the town of Madraspatan. It is on the *terra firma* of India, subject to the King of Bisnaga, whom they call king of the Gentiles, since of all (P. 262, col. 2) the kings of India he is a Gentile, or Idolater, the other Kings being Mahumetans.

In that town there is a very strong citadel held by the English. It is near the very strong town of the Portuguese, called St. Thomas, and by the Natives, Meliapour. Near it, that is about six or seven miles from it, the very Malabar gentiles believe from tradition that St. Thomas was crowned with martyrdom on a mountain called the Great Mount, to distinguish it from another near by, which is called Little Mount. On the top of Great Mount there is a very fine church on the very spot where St. Thomas is believed to have expired, after he had been wounded to death with lances by the gentiles on Little Mount, two miles from the other (Mount), where there is a church and a big house used by the Paulists as a place of recreation. I celebrated Mass on Great Mount, above the tomb of St. Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies. Within the town there are Paulists or Jesuits, Dominicans, and Augustinians with a large Episcopal church; outside the town are Franciscans of the Observance.

Now, when our ship had reached the harbour, the Rev. Father Ephrem came to meet me at the sea-shore with all his Christian people. He came to congratulate me and honour somewhat my unexpected, but long desired, arrival. Certainly, I wondered at seeing such a multitude of Christians in a quite heathen country worshipping pagodas. I marvelled on meeting men, women and children of darkish colour, all going naked with hair hanging down to the ground [P. 20] and covering their nakedness (*verenda*) with a cloth three or four inches (*digitis*) broad. Prostrate on the ground, all kissed my hands and clothes, and they asked my blessing with so much devotion that I could not keep back my tears for joy. They conducted me to the Church which is not far from the shore. When I had made a short prayer there and given my blessing to the people, Father Ephrem (P. 263, col. 1) refreshed me somewhat from the toils of a voyage of at least 600

(17) These are the Portuguese Minor Friars of the strictest observance, called Capuchins.

English leagues. The meal consisted of rice and water, without bread: for they do not use wheat in the whole of that country and in many parts of East India, but only boiled rice with water and salt. It is their only food, the one common to them all. As it came to fail them the last two years, owing to want of rain and excessive drought, it is incredible what an enormous multitude perished of hunger or sold themselves as slaves at ever so small a price. Travelling by land, I saw such mortality, so many corpses lying on the ground, half eaten by dogs and crows, that the excessive stench obliged me to stop up my nose with my handkerchief, and I myself suffered from hunger, on the way, because food was so extremely scarce.

Father Ephrem has a very devout and well-adorned church, with a chapel, choir, two small cells, a refectory, and a sufficiently large garden. All this he got built with alms generously and willingly given by the English and some Christians. All over India, the houses are built in the style of Europe, [P. 21] and are covered with curved bricks (? tiles; *lateribus recurvis*). They do not use terraces on the houses, as in Persia and Turkey. As regards his Mission, I can assert for a certainty that he has so much work that he can scarcely live long without the help of another companion; but, as he is an indefatigable labourer and a truly apostolic man, he shirks no labour, and misses no opportunity of helping his parishioners, to whom, with the permission of the Vicar of the Bishop of St. Thomas, he administers all the Sacraments of the Church, like a parish-priest. On Sundays he sings Mass solemnly with eight or ten boys whom he taught answering in the Roman manner. He preaches in Portuguese with great fervour and universal satisfaction. After the Mass he distributes some alms which the richer entrust to him. After that, standing in the middle, in front of many naked, black, kneeling Malabar children, he recites aloud, in the Malabar tongue, all the Christian prayers, the Our Father, Hail Mary, and the Creed, (P. 263, col. 2) and the children repeat the same words distinctly after him, and so learn to pray to God. After Vespers, which he sings in choir with his boys, after our manner, he teaches the Catechism, and so he spends usefully the whole day.

During the week he visits his parishioners, consoles the afflicted, and helps the oppressed, both Christians and Gentiles. Among the English, who are the lords and masters of that town, and whose language he has learned, he is held in great veneration. Very often, and not without fruit, he discusses with them disputed points of the faith. To finish with one word, he is a true Missionary, the first Capucin who set foot on this shore, and not without many dangers and difficulties. And surely, to tell the truth, it is necessary for him who wishes to carry on a Mission in those parts of India and to stay long that he should prepare himself to bear many inconveniences of life: for he will find there continual and very great heats, winds harmful to our constitution, rice and water for ordinary food, wine only for celebrating Mass, some fruits of a kind and taste quite different from those in Europe, the lack of other things, and frequent illnesses, so much so that you will see few, not only among the foreigners,

but also among the natives, who reach the grey hairs of old age; yet the whole of India *extra* and *intra* Gangetic, up to China, is so populous that, unless that people be at times consumed by famine or pestilence, the land could not at all feed such a numerous host of people.

That Reverend Father is so busy day and night in his Mission that he has hardly time for rest. The Gentiles, who worship pagodas, that is, the monstrous statues of their gods, and the Moors or Mahometans very often bring to him their infant children, when they are ill, and they ask him to bless them and read the Gospel over their head. He has baptised many when they were near death, and buried them in holy ground, the child's mother and other infidels assisting in silence (*P. 26½, col. 1*) at our ceremonies, [*P. 22*] which they follow attentively. The Bramans too, who are among the Gentiles as priests among us, their teachers, often discuss with him about religion, and, though he could not yet learn the Malavar tongue on account of his infinite occupations both spiritual and temporal, he instructs them, however, in Portuguese, which is rather commonly spread, refutes such gross errors, exhorts them, and slowly prepares them to acknowledge the true faith. He writes very well in the Malavar tongue, though the characters of the letters are very difficult, because they do not write on paper (*charta seu papyro*), as do the Chinese and Japanese, who have most excellent and fine paper, nor with ink, but with an iron style on smooth leaves of trees.

I should never finish saying what, with the grace of God, Father Ephrem and Father Zeno do in both extremities of India for the salvation and conversion of souls. If they wished to relate their story, as I exhorted them to do, I doubt not that it would be of greater edification in Europe than many lies which are sent by some, whom I do not name, even to Rome, every year, in order to deceive souls piously, as they say, in the things regarding the conversion of souls.

As I saw I had to remain some time at Madraspatan, waiting for the ship which had to carry me to Persia, I found an opportunity of not being idle by going partly by sea, partly by land, to Tranquenbar, a very powerful place or fort possessed by the Danes or Danemarchs, 150 miles south of Madraspatan. The Governor, or prefect of the fort, urgently asked us to fix ourselves there, and we had been long desired and expected. So, I started from Madraspatan, did half the route on a galiot, and the rest in four days by land. I had a safe-conduct in the Malavar tongue from the Governor of the fort of Tefnapatam, (*P. 26½, col. 2*) a Gentile, who however desired very kindly to receive us in the inner part of the fort, to talk with us in Portuguese, [*P. 23*] and he gave me two naked, black Malavars to accompany me, paying them out of his own the usual salary. With these two companions I went on foot, without any fear and with little expense; for I always found houses of Portuguese and one of the Dutch, where I slept at night. I crossed an arm of the sea where it flowed into the neighbouring lands. I was obliged to take off my clothes, and, holding them above my head with one hand, I swam with the other as I could, to the other bank. In a small boat, dug out of a single tree-trunk, I crossed the river of fresh water

which flows from Goa, a distance of 200 leagues. Having arrived safe and sound at Tranquenbar, I was received with much honour by the prefect of the fortress, who had long expected a French Capucin, as appears from the letter of the said prefect, a copy of which I sent to France, keeping with me the original, which, if it please God, I shall show to Your Most Reverend Paternity.

That place is a big town. In the square there is a very big temple of Gentiles, which, like the statues of their gods, they call Pagode. It is skilfully built, and painted outside, not inside, because such temples have no windows, but are very dark and evil-smelling. However, they burn lights when they perform their sacrifices and ceremonies. It is frequented from the neighbouring places, because, as they say, of the sacredness of the place. There are in that town many Gentiles and few Moors. The country is good and fertile, the fortress very good. The Governor, though a Lutheran, had a parish church built for the Roman Christians, also a sacristy and a house adjoining the church; all at his own expense, and he promises to furnish the Fathers with everything necessary for their food and clothing, and to give them for the exercise of their Mission as much liberty as at Madraspatan and in France. He could never fall in with the customs of the Portuguese (*P. 265, col. 1*) Religious and Clerics, of whom he could have plenty, if he wished, from the neighbouring town of Negapatam, where the Portuguese are master, and [*P. 24*] where there are Paulists, Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans.

I cannot express to Your Reverend Paternity with what feeling and what prayers he requested me to send as soon as possible for his Christianity at least one of our Missionaries. I promised to do so shortly, and surely I would have done it, had I not, on my return to Persia, learned that that Mission did not belong to us any longer, and that the Fathers of my Province had left it, I know not why, without awaiting my return or my letters. As this matter concerns Your Most Reverend Paternity, I beg of you again and again to provide as soon as possible for those three places, where it belongs to us to send to each residence one or two missionaries, learned men, of easy manners, of the sort that will accommodate themselves patiently, and becomingly (*honeste*) to the customs of others, though they differ from ours, men of moderate age, so that they may learn, besides Portuguese, the rather difficult Oriental languages. It will be sufficient, I think, for some time to keep those three places, without running here and there, until a bigger gate opens for Missions in Pegu or Japan or China, and I would on no account consent that a hospice be taken at Goa or in any other city where the Portuguese are the masters. They disdain and despise Religious of another nation than their own, because they are people of loose morals, chiefly the *mestigos* (*mestizii*) and natives about Goa, whom they call *Canarinos* (*Canonicos* in text), so that, when we try heartily to correct them or to frequent the sacraments (*ad sacra frequentanda*), they become very violent enemies. And certainly I saw nowhere such irreverence for holy things, such want of devotion, licentiousness of life, and corruption of morals as in India, where

God (*P. 265, col. 2*) is neither feared, nor loved, except perhaps by a few Christians, for I always except the good. So much so that I often said to myself with sighs and groans: "God is now known in Europe only, while in India He is quite unknown!"

When I had completed my work at Tranquenbar and had received leave from the prefect of the fortress, who had kept me ten days in the very fortress, he accompanied me to the sea, to provide me with a small ship. It was a wonderful contrivance, one used on the whole of the Coromandel country. It consists of three or at most four beams kept together with a rope and thrown into the sea; it is provided with a small Latin sail, and steered [*P. 25*] by two naked Malavar sailors. I returned in this style to Madraspatan, where the long-expected ship coming from the Red Sea happily landed. Having taken in some goods, the English captain admitted me also with great kindness, and, as the ship was not sufficiently loaded, it went 300 miles further towards the north and Bengal, up to the port and town called Masulipatam, where I remained eight days in the house of the English. We then set sail and turned our prow on Persia. I shall say briefly that in that town and port a Mission can be founded. When opportunity arises, two Missionaries can be sent there, because there are many English and Dutch, who received me with charity and good-will; there are also some Portuguese Christians, who, though having a church, were then without a priest, on account of the death of the Theatine Father who exercised his mission there and administered to them the sacraments.

RETURN TO PERSIA.

What I suffered during four months on that voyage and my return from India to Persia, is incredible and difficult to relate. Even now I shudder at the remembrance, so much so that, to tell the truth, (*P. 266, col. 1*) I longed for death a thousand times, and was weary of life in such misery as we experienced; for it is quite certain, and all who heard our calamities confessed it candidly, that the salvation and preservation of our ship and its inmates was in very truth a miracle. As we sailed along the whole island of Ceilan, we had the wind all the time so much against us that, after several storms, rains, and thunderings, it drove us up to the Maldive islands. Our boat went down to one of them to fetch water, of which we were already running short, [*P. 26*] but they could find only cocos. They loaded with them the boat and returned without water, and we, disappointed in our hope, continued our course towards Persia, situated in the north, and still more than 1500 leagues away.

But, as the north wind always kept blowing and was therefore contrary, the ship went slowly; after that came sea-calms, which they call *Calmos* or *Bonaces*, so that we reached such a shortage of water that for 28 days the sailors and I were given 8 ounces, or half a pound, of water, and that daily and for 24 hours. We were reduced to extremity from thirst and the want of other things: for, when water fails on board, everything fails; then we also lost our boat with 12 men, who, having been sent to land in search of

water and finding none, refused to return to the ship for fear of imminent death; and surely, after consuming the water, we were doomed to die, had we not [P. 27] through God's infinite mercy and a most evident miracle, when the captain least thought of it and we were awaiting only death, landed at last unexpectedly at a certain port of Arabia Felix, near the town of Zoar. I went down to it with four sailors, in a small boat or raft (*ponte*) made of oars and other timbers joined and tied together with ropes; but it was not without great danger from the sea, into which I fell (*P. 266, col. 2*) and I should have been drowned, if one of the sailors had not stretched out part of the oar he was using and lifted me out of the depth of the sea.

So, when with much toil and failing strength we reached land, the Arabs received us kindly; we took a sufficient quantity of water, bought fruits, eggs, fowls, and other provisions for restoring and refreshing the sailors, all of whom, to a man, lay half-dead in the ship and would infallibly have perished, had we not that very day found that port and water. Blessed be God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all consolation, who against all hope preserved our life miraculously, taking pity on us. At last, we landed at the port of Ormus in Persia, where all the English and Dutch of the town, who thought we had perished, came to meet us at the shore and with intense joy and congratulations received us like men brought to life again and resuscitated. Here, however, owing to hardships of the sea and of thirst endured so long, I fell seriously ill, suffering from a continual burning fever, and I was very near exchanging life with death.

But, with the help of God and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, I was again snatched from the jaws of death, and, when I had little by little recovered from my illness, I started on the journey, through the desert to Ispahan. I arrived there after 55 days, having suffered no small discomforts of hunger and cold: for that road through the desert is rarely frequented by caravans, and there are on it neither public nor private houses for rest and buying bread, as on the other ordinary and Royal road, but only some small huts of Arabs; and so, the whole of that time we had to sleep in the open air on the ground, which was wet from the frequent rains, and we had often no bread baked in ashes which, when we had an opportunity, we would make like the Arabs, our conductors carrying with them flour in bags. (*P. 267, col. 1*) As for the rest, I suffered so many discomforts during the 8 months I spent on my return from India to Persia that a quartan fever crowned my journey.

I now await a convenient occasion for returning to France, as Your Most Reverend Paternity ordered me in the letter I received, as also the Reverend Father Provincial, whose express obedience I also found here, so that I may give an account of my so long visitation, in order that, should there be need of deliberating about it, . . . Now, I confess that I have erred in many things, for I willingly acknowledge myself little fit for exercising such functions, and I shall accept correction and the condign penance for my demerits.

Some Unknown Dealings between Raghoba and the Portugese.

IT is well-known that on the 1st of March, 1776 the East India Company made peace with the Government of Poona, abandoning the cause of the Peshwa Raghoba Dada and stipulating through Colonel Upton that the English should not give him any help.

Raghoba finding himself without the assistance of the English, and fearing that they might by treachery and surprise hand him over to Madhav Rao availed himself of the help of the Portugese and asked the chief of the Portugese navy Joze Sanches de Brito, when he was sailing to Surat in March 1776 to receive him in the ship and take him to the capital of Goa. The Portugese admiral however very sagaciously refused to comply with his request in spite of offers of lacs of rupees that were made to him, suggesting to him that if he left his army which still followed him, it would join the enemy's rank.

Raghoba wrote then to the Governor of Daman asking him to give him hospitality in that place and also wrote to the Portugese Viceroy in April, 1776 asking the help of troops, ammunition, war material and refuge in Daman, promising in exchange to grant to the Portugese Government the territories of the North and some *Parganas* near Daman.

The chief intermediary in these negotiations between Raghoba and the Portugese was the Director of the Portugese Factory in Surat Jeronimo Ribeiro Neves who on the 1st of April, 1776 wrote to the Governor of Daman Sebastiao de Azavedo e Brito the following letter:

"Yesterday at 9 p.m. there came to me Ramchandra Rao Naraen and Apaji Ramachandra, on behalf of Raghoba who seeing that the English Company made peace with his enemies, breaking the promises it had made he did not want to accept the offer made to him, but would continue the war to the last, for which he seeks anxiously the alliance and help of the State (Portugese Government) and sends envoys to Goa, and what he intends to do now at once is to enter with his army in the Praca of Damaun for which the agents, above mentioned, write to your Excellency the letter included here in, and they assure me that one of them is going to the camp to-day, so that Raghoba may write to your Excellency to-day asking the required permission, regarding which your Excellency shall decide what is convenient and will redound to the glory of the State, and inform me what reply I should give to the agents to whom I have promised utmost urgency and who are anxiously desiring it."

The letter which the agents of Raghoba wrote to the Governor of Damaun, dated 2nd April, 1776, reads thus:

"We Apaji Ramachandra and Ramachandra Naraen send this with our *salams*, keeping good health and expecting you will communicate to us the news of your good health. It is true that among all the nations wearing the hat, the Portugese are the most powerful, their professions just and finally it is well-known that their protection is firm to whom it may be extended. Presently the English have left the cause of the Most Happy Dada Raghunath Rao Pant Pradhan, which fact being informed to him he desires to come to Damaun with his army, expecting you will afford him a welcome and writing to the Viceroy in Goa to send to Damaun from Goa 3,000 men both white and black, 2 thousand guns, 20 pieces of artillery, bombs, gunpowder, bullets and other war material, with which marching from Damaun to Poona to punish the warring relation, you will earnt the glory, the prosperity of the Most Happy as you own, for with this advantage your possession of the jurisdiction of Bassein and other territories which formerly were owned by the Sarcar will be returned to you and besides this he will give you a prise as deserved. By the order of the said Dada, in order to know your reply we communicate this matter to the Director of Surat Mr. Jeronimo, through whose advice this letter is sent and who will also write to you in Damaun and also to Goa to allow the said Dada to remain in Damaun and send from Goa the war material. We expect that reply will come soon to us and also to Dada and to the Director. We hope that pending the reply from Goa you will permit the said Dada and his army to come to Damaun and then obtain permission from Goa. If you perform everything as I have described, you and his Majesty shall be of great utility. Send the reply soon, and let there be no delay and as soon as the reply comes, Dada with his army will come to Damaun within a day."

On the 8th of April, the Director of Portugese factory of Surat received in reply the letter of the Governor of Damaun dated 3rd of April granting the necessary permission to Raghoba on condition that "he shall stop on hills of Parnel near the river, in order that his army may have water and that he shall bring all the food that may be necessary to his army during the time he will reside there." Raghunath Rao agreed to this condition.

"I think however," wrote the Director of the factory in his letter to the Viceroy dated 13th April, 1776, "that he is not positively determined to pass to Damaun but he wants to be certain of this hospitality, to take refuge in case the army of Poona pursues him with superior forces."

In fact, on the 29th April the same Director wrote to the Viceroy: "On the 16th instant Raghunath Rao gave me notice that next day he was raising his camp and was marching to the vicinity of Damaun, in order to avoid meeting the army of Poona which was approaching; that the English chief and the Colonel commanding the expedition, had come on the same day to offer him refuge in the city or in the fort, entering only with two hundred men, but he refused this offer on account of insufficient security he can have in Surat and his want of faith in the English; and remembering that his enemy might harass him in the vicinity of Damaun and reduce to the extreme necessity of taking refuge inside the same Praca, he desired that

the Governor should promise him and some men that accompanied him, security and extend to him all the due courtesys.

On the 18th, he informed me that he would have great satisfaction, if at his arrival the Governor gave him a company of Europeans for his body guard, all of which I communicated to the Governor by letters sent with confidential men of Raghunath Rao who sent a person to inspect the place which would be given to him for encampment and assure himself of the promises of the Governor.

On the 17th arrived two patamars from Bombay, and it was at once known that the English troops which were in Dambose ready to embark, were returning to the city. On the same day, the English chief and the Colonel Commander of the expedition went to the camp of Raghunath Rao who informed me at once that they had come to offer him the same alliance and help as they had done before, promising to bring the English troops to his side, asking to be excused for having abandoned him thoughtlessly, and in token of friendship they asked Raghunath Rao to order the artillery salute; he also says that he has received letters from the Governor and the General Council of Bengal, in which they showed themselves to be dissatisfied with the treaty with which Colonel Upton had made and were desirous of renewing the old alliance. The confidante of Raghunath Rao assured me on his part, that in the uncertainty about the resolution which you would take with regard to his demands, he would be in the necessity of availing himself of the English much against his wish. But as soon as he has the certainty that you will help him, he leaves alone the English at once, about which he has no scruples whatever, as they showed the example first, and this he brings to your notice, being in firm agreement with all that his agents will say. I took advantage of this occasion to persuade him, that the best proof he could give you of his good intentions, was to hand over to me the *sanads* of the territories of the North, which I had a good chance of sending to you by this frigate, but this dealing was not effective, he having sent to me the propositions which he intends making and offers to the State, recommending that I should communicate them to you, which I do separately, and he asks a reply quite urgently to enable him to know what course to choose.

On the 27th Raghunath Rao informed me that the person whom he had sent to Daman to inspect the locality which the Governor had fixed for his encampment, had arrived with his letter and he is satisfied and disposed to follow the instructions of the said Governor, which are to take the fort of Parnel and grant us the villages which formerly belonged to the jurisdiction of Damaun: the said Governor promises him that whenever he may want or necessity may compel him, he will go to receive him and will give him a company of granadiers for his journey. He (Raghunath Rao) thinks he will not be able to take the fort above referred to, without the help of Damaun, not having any doubt to grant it along with the villages stipulated, and he assures me that he will hand over the *sanads* to the Governor, when he will come to him on his first visit, he however does not

declare when he is going to start (for Damaun) and it seems to me that he is not going unless he receives a favourable reply from Your Excellency or is compelled by the enemy. Raghunath Rao wishes that I should go to his camp to speak to him and to accompany him to Damaun; but I excused myself to do so, not to excite any suspicion among the English, and even then I am afraid they may have some knowledge of it."

The above referred

Propositions of Raghunath Rao and of his Diwan Sadashiv Ramachandra were the following:

I

Wants 1,000 European soldiers, 2,000 natives and sepoys, 500. . . . and 15 pieces of artillery and 5 mortars, with competent officials, and commanded by chiefs of great ability and experience, bringing with them all kinds of belongings, ammunition of war that is necessary for them. The State will make an account of the pay and all other expenses and will adjust the amount which Raghunath Rao will have to pay every month, which will take effect from the time the expedition starts up to his entry into Poona, for which he shall reserve the income of various districts, and if there be delay in collecting he shall pay in ready money. The said expedition must disembark in Daman or wherever it may be convenient to join the troops of Raghunath Rao and he will immediately give an elephant to carry the standard and another one to the Commander of the Expedition, to whom he will give a donation suitable to his merits and to the other officials, palanquins, horses, carriages etc. according to their rank.

II

In recognition and gratification of this help, he promises to cede for ever to the Portuguese nation the rights and dominion over all the lands that were taken by the Mahrattas on the northern coast and if some of them be in the possession of the English Company, he undertakes to give others producing an equal income, selected by both parties, and as soon as the Portuguese troops arrive to help him, he will grant the respective *sansads*.

III

The State shall make an offensive and defensive alliance with Raghunath Rao, and the enemy of either shall be considered and treated as common to both parties and if Raghunath Rao need more help from the State for any war with an Asiatic power, it shall be given to him, on payment of all expenses and being victorious he shall grant more territories.

IV

In the Portuguese dominions no refuge should be given to the Mahratta deserters, and the same shall be done by Raghunath Rao with the Portuguese fugitives, at least, till both parties do not consent to this.

V

Should any Portuguese ship be wrecked on the coast of the Mahratta State, every assistance shall be given to save the cargo which should be returned to its real proprietor on payment of reasonable expenses. The same shall be done by the Portuguese with the Mahratta ships which may be wrecked on the Portuguese coast.

VI

In everything that relates with the Government of Raghunath Rao and the Marathas, the Portuguese shall not interfere.

VII

All dealings of the State with Raghunath Rao shall be through his Dewan Sadashiv Ramachandra who shall send his turban to the Captain General, and the latter shall send him his hat in token of a firm and good alliance.

VIII

When the State owned the territories of the North it seems that there were certain concessions to the Desais, and it being so the same should be made over to the Dewan; if not, the concession of a village should be given to the honour of his family and he should be permitted to have in Goa a house and gardens etc.

The Government of Goa gives the following reply to the articles of capitulation of Raghunath Rao and his Dewan Sadashiv Ramachandra:

To I

That the State of his Majesty has at the present time observed neutrality in the wars in Asia, maintaining an alliance with the English Court, whose friendship is established by the most Faithful King of Portugal by many treaties and in the same way with the House of Poona. That at present it shall maintain the same neutrality and alliance, and for this reason cannot render help with the troops that are asked, not having declared offensive war against any of the powers.

That the glory and greatness of the Most Faithful King and of his Majestic State is to help and protect the kings and the potentates of Asia without declaring war against the enemies of the Kings and Potentates referred to, but defend them, protect them and save from the power of their enemies. This is a public fact and well-known to the whole of Asia for the great Nabob having waged war against the Kingdom of Canara, imprisoned his queen and died in prison, and when the kingdom of Sunda was conquered, the King took refuge in our Majestic State, lived there being treated with decency, guarded and with pay and subsidy, which the Most Faithful King ordered to be contributed annually which continued in the same way to be given to the successor and the son of the same king, being treated with all the honours of a king and at the same time the Majestic State maintains an alliance with the Nabob. That in the same way without

any doubt the Governor and Captain General of the State promise to protect the most Happy (Raghoba) approving of what the Governor of Damaun has stipulated and promised to permit that his army may encamp in the territory of Damaun high up in the hill of Parnel near the Ribeira.

That in the Praca of Damaun the Most Happy can come every time he wants, it being allowed to him to enter with only 200 men.

That the Majestic State will order to fortify and guard with more people the said Praca of Damaun, and furnish it with more pieces of artillery and war material for the security and defence of the Most Happy (Raghoba).

That the said Praca being reserved to serve as the refuge of the Most Happy in order to free himself from the hands of his enemies,—an account of the allowance of the military men of the said Praca, and of the value of the war material and ammunition that will be sent new, will be made and according to the list signed by the Governor of that Praca, all dues shall be paid by the Most Happy at the beginning of every month to the Governor, giving notice to this court of the payments made.

To II

That the promise is accepted.

To III

That the reply is given in the first article that if the Most Happy conquers and grants to the Majestic State the territories of the Portuguese which were taken by the House of Poona, the Majestic State will have no doubt in making an offensive and defensive alliance with the Most Happy.

To IV

That the promised returning to the Majestic State the territories of the North in possession of the House of Poona and others equivalent to those owned by the English Company, is approved.

To V

The same reply.

To VI

That it is approved.

To VII

That all dealings shall be made through Sadashiv Ramachandra Dewan, that the Governor and Captain General of the State will send his hat, but that the turban that will be sent should be of the Most Happy and if it be of the Dewan the Secretary's hat will be sent.

To VIII

That it is approved and is convenient.

Placing his trust on the permission of the Portuguese, Raghoba left Surat on the 10th August and arrived near Damaun on the 25th, as he himself says in his letter dated 3rd September, 1776 written to the Portuguese Governor of Goa.

As the news that Raghoba was near Damaun reached Poona the Portuguese emissary in that Court Naraen Shenvi Dhume wrote on behalf of Poona Court to the governor of Damaun not to give him any help in view of the friendship that existed between the Portuguese and the Court of Poona. It was a protest.

Having gained the vicinity of Damaun, Raghunath Rao Peshwa asked the governor of the Praca the help of 400 men, 2 or 3 pieces of artillery and one mortar, to take the hill of Parnell and there to settle himself, granting in return of this help, which was not given, four *pragunas naeres* and two forts, around which lie the 4 Parganas above mentioned and which consisted of 156 villages which Raghoba had in his possession. This is stated in the letter of the Governor of Damaun written to the Viceroy on the 1st of September, 1776. In this letter it is said:

"Raghunath Rao asks me in case he is attacked by any powerful army he desires to be kept in this Praca (of Damaun) with twenty men and in a war ship to go to your presence."

The Portuguese authorities did not give him this help maintaining always an expectant attitude, inducing in this way the court of Poona to grant to the Portuguese some villages in Damaun producing an income of 12 thousand rupees. The negotiations of Raghoba continued during a long time with the object of establishing an alliance with the Portuguese, even to the extent of addressing the Queen of Portugal a letter in November, 1778 which was brought to Goa by an envoy of Raghunath Rao.

The Governor of Goa, D. Jose Pedro de Camara wrote regarding this affair, to Portugal on 22nd of December, 1778: "In the conferences which I have continually had with the said envoy of Raghoba, he sufficiently affirms the mistrust that his Lord has, that the English may dominate him in the same way as the Nawabs of Bengal and of Surat, and not only with the object of avoiding this subjection but also of maintaining himself respected in the possession that he intends to have, he desires earnestly the help of our troops, an alliance with this State and protection from our August Sovereign."

PANDURANGA PISSURLENCAR,

Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences. Instituto
Vasco da Gama of Nova Goa, Société
Asiatique of Paris, etc.

Some Information Relating to the Last Days of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Imad-ul-Mulk.

(Based on Unpublished State Records)

THOSE who have read the history of the Later Mughals are familiar with the name of Imad-ul-mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, III. He was the eldest son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang II, the eldest son of Mir Qamr-ud-din, the first Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah and the subahdar of the Deccan. At an early age he was created the *Bakhshi* of Emperor Ahmad Shah. Afterwards, he became remarkable for his ability, and infamous also for his crimes. It was he who murdered the Emperor Ahmad Shah and deprived his successor Alamgir II (the father of the Emperor Shah Alam II) of his sight. Ghazi-ud-din realized—rightly or wrongly—that the safety of the Mughal empire rested in an alliance with the Marathas whom he had invited to Hindustan. Before the first action between the Abdali and the Marathas took place (Jany. 1760), Ghazi-ud-din had been obliged to leave Delhi for Bharatpur, where he sought shelter with the Jat Rajah Suraj Mal and became his pensioner. He next fled to Farrukhabad, disgusted, as he was, with the conduct of the then Jat Rajah Jawahir Singh, and he also stood against the latter's successor in power, Nawal Singh, in a formidable coalition with the Marathas. In fact, Ghazi-ud-din wandered from one Power to another as he could find security (1).

But very little is known of the closing days of this once famous minister. In this paper I shall deal with certain State-papers, preserved among the Secret Department Records in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, which fill this gap in our knowledge to a certain extent.

In 1779 Ghazi-ud-din Khan was discovered near Surat in the disguise of a *faqir*. The following letter which Mr. Boddam, the Chief of Surat, addressed to the Select Committee at Bombay, gives full particulars of the affair:

“ The Nawab sent to acquaint me the other day that he had a report made by some of his people that the famous Ghazi or Ghazi-ud-din Khan, so particularly mentioned in the 2nd Vol. of Dow's *Hindustan History* commencing page 350, who is the reputed murderer of Ahmad Shah and Alamgir Sani Mughal Emperors, the

(1, *Mutaqherin*; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vols. I-IV; “ Mir Shihab-ud-din ” by R. D. Banerji in the *Muslim Review* (April-June, 1928, pp. 21-31); Qanungo's *Hist. of the Jats*; Sardesai's *Murathi Riyasat*.

latter the father of the present Mughal, was disguised in the habit of a *faqir* and lived at one of the Borah's mosques, having been brought by them from Eugene [Ujjain], in order as it was said to proceed on to Hadj; that he the Nawab intended if I had no objection to send some of his people with a proper guard to secure and examine, if it was the person really given out. I returned for answer it was very well, but desired he would acquaint me with the result. Some time after the Nawab sent his man to advise me he had secured the person of the *faqir* who acknowledged himself to be the person Ghazi-ud-din Khan, that he had a wife and two sons with him, one about 16 years the other about 8 or 9 years of age with eight or ten attendants, the place he then was in, an old mosque, he the Nawab did not think in any degree proper or secure and therefore intended to send him to one of his own gardens Muhammada-bagh within the town walls. I returned for answer I thought he acted very properly, but at the same time desired he would neither write to Delhi or Haidarabad respecting Ghazi-ud-din Khan being under his care in this city, until I should advise the Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Bombay respecting the arrival of this extraordinary person and receive their answer. The Nawab desired I would at the same time forward a letter from him to the President which now goes enclosed.

“ This person, Ghazi-ud-din Khan, is the son of Ghazi-ud-din eldest son of the famous Nizam-ul-mulk, formerly Subah of the Deccan, and when only fifteen years of age was made Bakhshi to the Emperor Ahmad Shah in the year 1751, a man of great capacity and most extraordinary genius, since so remarkable for his crimes and the murder of the two Mughal Emperors. He fled from Delhi in the year 1761 to the Jats, and has ever since been wandering from one Power to another as he could find security. His late residence for some years it seems has been at Eugene, as a Borah *faqir*, and was by their Grand Mulla sent to this place, with the idea of getting over to Hadj, but unluckily for him was discovered by some people here who had formerly served under him at Delhi. As very great rewards have been offered for this person, both by the present Mughal (Alamgir Sani's son) as well as the present Subah of the Deccan, to whose subahship from his birth he has such just pretensions, our Nawab here is very anxious how to act, in case, when his residence in this city becomes public, which cannot now be long concealed from Delhi or Haidarabad, demands should be sent from both places for the delivery of the person of Ghazi-ud-din Khan. I am to request your full and particular instructions as soon as possible what part I am to act in this business, for as he, Ghazi-ud-din, is a person that has played so great a part in the transactions of Indostan for some years, his

near connections with the greatest families and Umaras of India (whether or not he might be of great use and service to the Supreme Council in their political transactions with the Court of Delhi as well as with the Nizam), are circumstances I beg to refer to your judgment and consideration. Ghazi-ud-din Khan will be strictly guarded at Muhammada-bagh under the Nawab's protection and security until I am favoured with your directions how I am to act." (6 Feby. 1779) (2).

The Select Committee at Bombay, in forwarding the above letter, reported to the Governor-General Warren Hastings as follows:—

"Upon receipt of this intelligence we were of opinion that as so distinguished a person had been thus thrown within our power, it was our duty to detain him until we could receive instructions from you regarding him; and as we did not think he would be entirely safe at Surat, and his continuance there might bring the Nawab into difficulties and occasion inconveniences to the city as well as to the Hon'ble Company's affairs, we have determined to remove him to Bombay which will be a more eligible place for his residence until we can receive your orders, which we therefore request to be favoured with as expeditiously as possible.

"The Vizier has since expressed an inclination of being removed to Bombay, at which the Nawab has likewise expressed his satisfaction and we now expect his arrival in a few days." (21 February, 1779) (3).

On 5th April the Board at Calcutta issued the following instructions to the Select Committee at Bombay:—

"We have received your letter of the 21st February.

"We wish that you had not apprehended the person of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, as it has the appearance of, at least, an act of violence to him, which no pretext can justify, and which may furnish occasion for jealousies, that at this time you should be particularly careful to avoid. We must therefore earnestly recommend to you, instantly to grant him liberty, peremptorily insisting that he do immediately quit the English territories, and if you have an opportunity, we further recommend that you forward him on his way to Mecca" (4).

It will be seen from the extracts quoted below that Col. Goddard had met Ghazi-ud-din in the Bengal Provinces, and that he was sent back to Surat in one of the Company's vessels, so that he might take a passage thence to Mecca:—

"Whilst the Vizier remained at Surat we received a letter from him containing very splendid accounts of the powerful assistance he had intended bringing to Raghuba's cause by his connection with

(2) *Secret Proceedings*, 5th April, 1779, pp. 540-43.

(3) *Secret Consultation*, 5th April, 1779, No. 1.

(4) *Ibid.*, No. 5.

different Rajahs and the most profuse expressions of regard to the English. In the conclusion he acquainted us his intentions were to go to Mecca, but having no necessities for that expedition, he desired we would conduct him thither.

"On making enquiry from Col. Goddard respecting this person, we learnt he had some time ago been in the Bengal Provinces, and that the Government had not thought it material to detain him; therefore, as he was very earnest to be permitted to proceed on his pilgrimage, and his residence here would be attended with considerable expense, we did not judge from Col. Goddard's information that it would answer any adequate purpose to detain him here contrary to his consent, and we reflected likewise that if the Governor-General and Council chose to have him sent round to Bengal, he would probably return from Mecca sufficiently early for that voyage the following season. We therefore sent him up again to Surat in one of your cruisers to take passage from thence in a country ship bound to Jedda which we hope will be approved" (5).

But Ghazi-ud-din had to postpone the voyage to Hadj for reasons stated in the following letter:—

"Our despatch of the 4th April will have acquainted you of our having given permission to Ghazi-ud-din Khan to proceed to Surat, in order to take passage for Mecca; but we understand that, owing to some differences between him and Chellaby, the owner of the ship bound for that port, he did not prosecute his pilgrimage, but still remains at Surat. We beg leave to observe that his removal to Bombay was perfectly satisfactory to him, and that upon his expressing a desire to return to Surat he was immediately accommodated with one of the Hon'ble Company's vessels." (7th June 1779) (6).

The Governor-General received on 14th September 1779 a lengthy letter from Ghazi-ud-din Khan in which he styles himself as "Vizier-ul-mamalik, Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-mulk, Bahadur Sipah-salar," gives the reason of his stay at Surat in disguise, and finally begs the protection of the English. We give a summary of this letter below:—

"The writer has received his [Governor-General's] letter. Says that when the English army crossed the river at Kalpi he, out of a desire for friendship, wrote to the English officers. Visaji, the Chief of Saugor, coming to know of this affair, became hostile to the writer. So he left Saugor and went towards Ujjain with a view to joining the English army, and wrote letters to this purport to Col. Goddard. But he could not accomplish this design as the

(5) Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 27th March, 1779.—*Secret Con.* 3rd May, 1779, No. 7.

(6) Bombay to Governor-General Warren Hastings. *Secret Consultation*, 8th July, 1779, No. 4.

Marathas commanded the roads. He then resolved to go to Bombay, have a meeting with the Colonel, and help in settling the affairs of Raghunath Rao. He went to Surat in disguise, where he was delayed two weeks owing to the indisposition of his son, Dilir Jang. But in the meantime intelligence was received that the Rao was defeated and Col. Goddard, with whom he had contracted a friendship by letters, was yet at Hoshangabad. He did not think it right to wait upon Mr. Hornby, the Governor of Bombay, with whom he had no acquaintance, or to make known his situation to Mr. Boddam or any of the chief men at Surat, but awaited the arrival of Col. Goddard.

" Meanwhile Hafiz-ud-din Ahmad, the *Mutasaddi* of Surat, discovered the identity of the writer and, suspecting him of some evil design, sent some people at the close of night to apprehend him. He defied them to do their worst, saying 'I am a Sayyid. My ancestor, the Imam Husain, was likewise dishonoured by a villain called Yazid. But the English are my friends and Aman-ud-daula [Hastings] is my protector. You will be called to account for your behaviour when Col. Goddard arrives.' Hearing this they refrained from molesting him but maintained a strict watch over his movements.

" At last Col. Goddard arrived. The writer went to see him and was received in a most friendly manner. He then sailed for Bombay in a ship sent by Mr. Hornby and paid a visit to the Governor, who, being bribed, is abjectly subservient to the *Mutasaddi* of Surat and suffers all the high-handedness exercised by the latter to go unchecked, and therefore did not accord the treatment that was due to the writer. From the afflictions that had come upon him, he was desirous of going to Mecca, but he has not yet got the necessary things.

" Has sent to the Governor-General two letters through Col. Goddard concerning his own affairs. Will stay with the Colonel till a reply is received. It must not however be understood that he is hanging on the Colonel on account of his inability to support himself, for it is a common knowledge that he possesses houses and gardens in Saugor and can live comfortably on the income thereof. But it is not consistent that he, who formerly was in an exalted state, should support himself by such means. His request is that, through your means, he may gain the protection of the Company and perform such services for King George III of England, that the whole of Hindustan and the Deccan may be reduced to subjection to you. His plan is this. The King of Hindustan will be prevailed upon to give away the whole of Bengal to the King of England. An English army will be stationed with the King at Delhi, as in the case of Asaf-ud-daula. The affairs of the Rajahs of Hindustan, who are dependent on the Marathas, will be

settled by the English chiefs, and Najaf Khan, an evil-disposed person, will be exiled and his territory bestowed on some one attached to the English. This may all be done without war or even murmurings. In the next year the writer would march into the Deccan under the King's order, and all the chiefs, as many as are at Haidarabad or Puna together with their armies, he would firmly attach to himself and the expenses of the army—which is at Surat—would be defrayed from this part of the country, excluding the Maratha territories. Besides this, if the restoration of Raghunath Rao in Puna and the conquest of Gujrat is intended, by the blessing of God, the writer is able to set at variance the Chiefs of the armies, and to bring the business to success by the assistance of the zamindars, who all have a good understanding with him. Will pay Rs. 15 lakhs to the Company in one instalment and thenceforth at the rate of one lakh annually, if you will reduce the power of the Mutasaddi of Surat, rescue the inhabitants from his tyranny, settle his property on the writer's son, and deliver that tyrant up to him. Requests that the pargana of Hajipur, which was for a long time the jagir of the writer, may now be given to his son on the usual conditions. Will go on a pilgrimage to Mecca as soon as these affairs are settled.

P.S.—Has taken refuge with the English in the hope of being raised to honour. Prays to God that either his hopes may be fulfilled or he may be removed from the world altogether. The threshold of the English is his last hope. Has received invitations from the King, the Vizier and Nawab Nizam Ali, but preferring the English connection he has refused their offers. His only wish now is to be taken under the protection and patronage of His Majesty King George III of England" (7).

I have not yet been able to unearth from the public records here any further particulars relating to this ex-minister. The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin* says (iii. 116):—

"The man now reduced to straits, as well as unable to find throughout all the cities of Hindustan, or even in all those of Deccan, a single spot, whereon he might tread in safety, repaired to Surat, under pretence of a pilgrimage to the glorious Mecca; and he kept himself concealed for a length of time, nor was he discovered but by some jewels of value which he got out for sale. Col. Goddard was obliged to write to the Governor and Council to know their pleasure with respect to this man; and he was at first forbidden to have any connections with him; but in the sequel, they concluded that an intriguing man is always a shrewd man; and that being acquainted with all the chief men of Deccan, as well as allied to the family of Nizam-ul-mulk, he

might be of great use. Accordingly, they ordered the Colonel to have connections with him, in hopes that at some future emergencies, his abilities and knowledge might answer some purpose in their cause. The General upon this letter, admitted him to his friendship, and gave him a pension for his subsistence " (8).

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

(8) Vol. 143 of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records contains certain documents regarding the discovery of Ghazi-ud-din at Surat " *with relevant papers*, pp. 451-98 " which are likely to throw further light on the closing days of the ex-Vizier.

Early Public Life in India.

PUBLIC life in the western sense is a plant necessarily of modern growth. in the article of Sir Thomas Tarton in the previous numbers of *Bengal: Past & Present*, we have seen how Sir Thomas was one of the few prominent Europeans who took part in the growth and promotion of Indian Public Life; whether it touched the Indians or the Europeans. The start have been given sometime before Sir Thomas and the fulcrum was provided by Mr. George Thompson who accompanied Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore in 1842. Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore was a great admirer of Raja Rammohan Roy and his worthy son better known as Mohorshi Debendra Nath Tagore was a lineal spiritual descendant of Raja Rammohan Roy. The start given by Raja Rammohan Roy to the development of political instinct of the Indian Public by his manifold activities was taken up by Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore. He studied questions at close quarters during his stay in England, was well received in society, made acquaintance of the powerful political intellects of the day. The activities of the Anti-Corn League were at their highest about this time in England and Mr. George Thompson a prominent member of the Parliament was one of the most powerful exponents of such activities.

He edited a monthly journal called "The British Advocates," in India, he worked with the Bengal Landholders' Society, regarding what he called Hill Cooly system of Slavery, the oppressive land-tax, opium, and salt monopolies. He was a leading member of the British India Society of London and lectured on Indian topics in England with a view to advance the claim of Indian people for better Government, and he formed a branch of this Society in Calcutta. In India, he took up the cause of Ex-Raja of Satara, and was appointed Ambassador of the Emperor of Delhi. He visited India again in 1855 and left it in 1857, when the sepoy war broke out. He was a member of the National Parliamentary Association and was M. P. for the Toulser Hamlets from 1847-52. He died in October 1878, at the age of 74. He had the reputation of being a speaker and brilliant conversationalist.

Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore who was truly princely in his dealings succeeded in inducing Mr. George Thompson to come out with him to India and lost no time in vigorously identifying himself with such public life amongst Indians as had begun to manifest itself as the visible result of the spread of Western Education amongst themselves by their own efforts. These activities were necessarily limited and scattered and often sporadic. A few had come together under the name of the "Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge" in the Hindoo College. "They had no local habitation of their own and met from time to time wherever they could get hospitable accommodation."

(1) B. P. and P. Vol. XXXVI, pt. ii and Vol. XXXVII, pt. i, "Acts of Pains and Penalties in the Past."

In 1838, the society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was founded by Babu Ramgopal Ghose with his friends Babus, Tarini Charan Banerjee, Ramtonoo Lahari, Tarachand Chuckerbutty and Rajanikanta Dey. The invitation began with the words:—"Countrymen, Though humiliating be the confession, yet we cannot for a moment deny the truth of the remark so often made by many able and intelligent Europeans, who are by no means inimical to the cause of the native improvement, that in no one department of learning are our acquirements otherwise than extremely superficial. We need only examine ourselves in order to be convinced of the justice of the remark after the groundwork of our mental improvement has been laid in the schools, (and school tuition seldom does more). We enter the world and never think of building a solid superstructure. The fate of our Debating Association, most of which are now extinct, while not one is in flourishing condition as well as the puerile character of the native productions are lamentable proofs of this dead neglect. If a tree is to be known by its fruits, where, with but one or two solitary exceptions, are the fruits to which we can point with pride and satisfaction, as manifesting any degree of intellectual energy or extent of learning? We have ever sincerely regretted the want of an institution which should be the means of promoting frequent mutual intercourse among the educated Hindoos and of exciting an emulation for mental excellence. There is at present no occasion whereby we are ever called upon to congregate on an extensive scale for the purpose of mutual improvement, and whence we may receive impetus for applying ourselves to useful studies. Is it then not desirable to unite in such a laudable pursuit by which the bond of fellowship may be strengthened, the acquisition of knowledge promoted, and the sphere of our usefulness extended?"

A meeting of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was organised by Babu Ramgopal Ghose himself a great orator and a powerful organizer at the Hindoo College on 11th January, 1843, and Mr. George Thompson was its chief speaker. Mr. George Thompson who was a warm friend of India and as a member of the Anti-Corn League he sought co-operation on behalf of India. His interest in India had greatly increased when in 1838 many lives were lost on account of the distressing famine in Upper India.

The meeting was held under the presidency of Babu Tara Chand Chuckerbutty. After the ordinary business of the meeting was over, Mr. George Thompson responded to the call of the Chair and delivered the following address:—

Mr. President, Members of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, and if you allow me to say so, Dear Friends, on rising to address you at the request of the chairman, I scarcely know how to discharge my duty, so many, so new and so strong, are the emotion which struggle for utterance. For some years I have felt a deep and constantly growing interest in the condition, the prospect and destinies of the people of India. I have read of India, and I have dreamed of India. I have written respect-

ing India, and I have spoken on behalf of India. But in dreaming or talking or writing I have always had one wish present in my mind that I might see the country for myself, might mingle with its people as I do now and through the knowledge acquired by travelling and observations, be able to be of more service to the cause of my fellow subjects here. At length I am permitted through the Divine Providence, to stand upon your soil and this evening I find myself in the midst of some of the most educated and enlightened of the natives of the country. So great do I esteem this privilege to be, that I can hardly believe that I am not even now enjoying a delightful dream rather than upon a real scene. Allow me to say, it is no feeling of mere curiosity that had prompted my visit to your shores; still less a desire to advance my personal and worldly interests. My duties and engagements at home were of too important a nature to suffer me to abandon them even for a short time, from my consideration, less than a conviction that my future usefulness might be promoted by a knowledge of actual state of things around you. I come out therefore not to gaze upon the splendour of your rivers, the sublimity of your mountain scenery or the grandeur of your scattered monuments of former greatness. All these are objects of interest and as they come in my way I shall contemplate them with no ordinary regard. I come, however, to study the living populations and all other subjects only in connection with the present and future well-beings of those who were created to possess and enjoy the riches and splendour of this glorious region. I, as you know, come from a country which is the seat of government under which you live, the fountain head of that authority which is exercised over you, the great theatre for the discussion of all questions relating to the fundamental principles of the British rule in India. I have long been anxious that the people of England should feel their responsibility to God for the manner in which this empire is governed. No amount of wisdom, benevolence, or justice in the delegated rules of India can in my opinion, absolve the great body of people from this responsibility. In consequence of their past ignorance, they have been quite incompetent to form a just opinion still more to suggest remedies for existing evils. If enlightened, informed, and interested in regard to Indian matters, they would be able to commend, encourage, and support that which is just and beneficial; and at the same time to check abuses, to make salutary changes and to lay down broad and generous principles for the future administration of the Government. It is of vital importance to you and to your country that the apathy, indifference, and ignorance of the people of England should be removed. They make the Parliament that framed the charter under which you live. They are the final tribunal to which you must appeal, from the East India Company, which is but the constituted medium through which India is governed in the name of the Crown and the people of England. They are bound, therefore, to see that the power wielded on their behalf is equitably and beneficently exercised; and this they cannot do while they are destitute of correct knowledge. I may be permitted to say that I have spared no pains to obtain the information that

was within my reach in England, and you know, that I made it my business to communicate what I conceive to be sound and accurate to my countrymen at large. I have ever found the mass of the people at home, willing to be taught and ready to act. I have also found them anxious that the government of the country should be a just and benevolent one. They are willing to act, when they shall be rightly instructed in their duty. They have no interest in the perpetuation of any of the social or political evils of this country. On the contrary they are by degrees coming to the opinion that these evils deprive both the people here and the people at home, of many great and estimable advantages. I can assure you, that I am followed to these shores by sympathies and best wishes of thousands, who cherish a deep concern for your welfare. Judge then how delighted I must be to have so early an opportunity of addressing so large a number of native community of this city and to find myself in the midst of a society for the acquisition of general knowledge. I have gone through the printed transactions of this Society with much pleasure. They reminded me of the days long past when I belonged to similar societies in England; and let me say for your encouragement, that if, I have since, in any measure been able to advance the cause of my oppressed fellow men, I attribute my ability to do so, in no small degree to the benefits I derived from my connection with these institutions. I heard with regret that your society has for sometime been in a languishing condition. Allow me to suggest as a remedy for this state of things that you can endeavour as far as practicable to select topics which are of an interesting nature, the elucidation and discussion of which will be highly beneficial to you in the various spheres you are called to fill. You will then be blending utility with instruction and making your knowledge subservient to the purposes for which you live. These societies are greatly useful in making us aware of our own ignorance, in including us to resort to the fountains of knowledge open to us and in enabling us to cultivate the art of communicating to others, what we have ourselves acquired. The object which brings me to the country is nearly allied to your own; in fact it is one and the same,—the Acquisition of Knowledge. I have heard of you and of your country by the hearing of the ear, and I think I know something of your condition, peculiarities and wants, from the study of the best informed writers, but this is not enough for one who sought to give an accurate representation of the real state of things. I have therefore come hither to see and judge for myself; and as long as I remain shall esteem it a duty and privilege to cultivate the acquaintance of the native population, that I may understand their views and feelings. The only reward I seek for any effort in your cause is to see you qualifying yourselves to be hereafter the enlightened vindicators of the claims of your countrymen to sympathy and support of all the covers of moral, and the political justice in England."

It need be hardly stated that the address was exceedingly well received both in and outside the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge

and the arena of work of the Society gradually became more political in character. It fell to the lot of the Society to take preliminary steps for the formation of the Bengal British India Society at Calcutta, largely on the lines of the British India Society which Mr. G. Thompson had established in England.

Before Mr. Thompson came here, the Landholders Association was established in April, 1838, and was the only organised body in India to discuss political topics. Mr. Wm. Cobb Hurry, the then Editor of the *Englishman*, and Babu Prosonno Coomar Tagore were its joint honorary secretaries, but Dwarka Nath Tagore, near whose house the office of the Association was situated was the life and soul of the institution. The Landholders' Association, although it was the most useful body and did good in its own time, represented only one class of the community—the aristocracy of Bengal. It advocated the rights of the zemindars.

The British Indian Society thus afforded the necessary supplements from the people's point of view for the time.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHICARI.

The Cornwallis-Malet Correspondence, 1788-89.

(A sheaf gleaned from the historical field of the Imperial Record Dept.)

“THESE old records are like cauldrons at Camachos' wedding; one has only to plunge in a ladle at random to scoop out something valuable or curious.” Thus spoke Sir Henry Yule regarding the valuable old records which are preserved in the archives of the Imperial Record Department, from which even to-day the scholars of Indian history can draw new and fresh historical inspiration. The truth of the above statement of Sir Henry Yule fully became manifest to me when in the course of casual examination of some of the Home Department documents, I came across the correspondence mentioned in the caption which throws a considerable fresh flood of light on the history of the Mahrattas and the Mughals of the 18th century. This correspondence (1) consists of several letters which passed between Sir Charles Warre Malet, Resident Minister at the Court of Poona and the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, during the years 1788-89, “to form a judgment how far the commercial intercourse then existing between the British and Mahratta Governments may admit of an increase advantageous to both sides” and also “to find out means how to carry out successfully the project in question.” Several of these interesting unpublished documents, however, have already been dealt with by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., etc., Keeper of the Imperial Records and Secretary to the Indian Historical Records Commission in his article entitled “Commercial and Social intercourse between the East India Company and the Poona Court” which appeared in the last January-March number of *Bengal: Past & Present*. But as I find that among the aforesaid correspondence there are at least two important papers which deal with the court etiquettes of the Mahratta and Mughal Durbars of the 18th century, that have not been noticed in the above article, it is hoped that their reproductions will not fail to interest the students of Indian history. These papers are the letters which Malet wrote to Lord Cornwallis on the 13th and 26th July, 1789, from Poona, describing the oriental royal courtesy and grandeur with which the then Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan, received the Mughal Prince, Mirza Jooma, son of the late Mirza Jehandar Shah, in his dominion in that month and the way in which the latter reciprocated the former's civility and hospitality. These letters, however, do not say why the Mughal Prince in question (Prince Jooma) paid that visit to the Peshwa. The letters run thus:—

(1) Pub. O. C.s 22 April 1789, nos. 25-29 (with enclosures).

FIRST LETTER (2).

"To the Right Hon'ble

Charles Earl Cornwallis, K.G.,

Governor-General, Fort William.

My Lord,

On the 9th July, 1789, the Peshwa with his whole court proceeded in the evening to Hurrupser, a village about 5 miles from Poona, to receive Mirza Jooma, son of the late Mirza Jehandar Shah, who arrived there, in the morning under conduct of a chieftain from hence, who had been sent on the 4th instant to bring him from Wurlee, his former encampment, about 12 miles from Hurrupser. The etiquette of this visit was as follows. The Peshwa attended by the Regent Minister (Nana Farnavis), all the civil and military officers and all the troops in Poona, proceeded (the Peshwa's minister, etc., on elephants) to within about a mile of the Prince's tent, where a small canopy was pitched, at which the Peshwa on alighting was received by Akbar Ali Khan, the Prince's maternal grand-uncle and Makshud Beg, his Dewan, who had come there from that purpose, and to each of whom, the Peshwa being introduced by the Chief that had been sent to conduct the Prince from Wurlee and to remain with him as his entertainer, presented a Kullat (Khilat) consisting of cloths and a *sirpeich* (a valuable ornament worn in front of a turban). After this preliminary ceremony, Akbar Ali Khan and his comrade returned to the Prince and were followed by the Peshwa, and his officers in palanquins. At about the distance of forty paces from the tent walls, the Peshwa alighted and immediately on entering them made three *taslims* or low obeisances to the Prince who was seated and remained so on *musnud* in his tent, on approaching which he (the Peshwa) presented a *nazzar* of 15 gold mohurs; after which being directed by the Prince to seat himself, he repeated his obeisances and obeyed. After the ceremony of presenting the offerings by all the chiefs that attended the Peshwa, he entreated the Prince's permission that the Minister might be seated, which being granted, the Minister in like manner procured the same favour for Pooranduree, another Chieftain of eminence, and these were the only ones to whom this honour was granted. The visit was closed by the Prince presenting the Peshwa with Khilat, consisting of seven pieces of cloths and bound turband (sic), a *jeegha* (a valuable ornament worn on the turban), a *sirpeich*, a tiara of pearls, an elephant, a horse, a sword and a buckler; for the sword, according to the royal custom, the Peshwa paid seven gold mohurs and the honour he had received was announced by a (sic) numerous discharges of cannons. To

(2) Pub. O. C. 28 August 1789, No. 1; this letter also describes how joyfully the news of King George III's recovery from a serious illness was received at the Poona Court. We learn from other papers that the illness of the King was first made known on the 12th October, 1788 and that the King on his recovery went to St. Paul's to render thanks to the Almighty God on the 23rd April, 1789.

the Minister, six pieces of cloth and a bound turband (six) with a horse. To Hari Punt (a famous Mahratta General) the same, except one piece of cloth less. These were the only persons that were honoured with marks of the Prince's favour. After which, the Peshwa, making the same obeisances as on his entrance retired and returned to the town. 25,000 rupees, I am informed, have been sent for the Prince since his arrival, as *mehmani* or entertainment money."

"The Prince still continues in his tent at Hurrupser. His attendants and followers do not exceed 200 men and his whole equipage exhibits the appearance of much distress. It is generally reported that a provision will be made by Government for him, but of which I have not at present any authentic information.

(Sd.) C. W. MALET."

"P. S.—

I have just received intelligence that the Prince Mirza Jooma is to reside at Gardone about 25 coss hence, where a house is provided for him."

SECOND LETTER (3).

'To The Right Hon'ble

Charles Earl Cornwallis, K.G.,

Governor-General, Fort William.

My Lord,

On the 13th instant I had the honour to give your Lordship an account of the reception of the Prince Mirza Jooma by the Poona Court. On the 21st instant the Peshwa again waited on him to take leave on the Prince's departure to Gardone, on which occasion all the previous marks of respect, viz., of stopping the drums and other music of the cavalcade, and alighting at a distance from the tent walls, being as punctiliously observed as to the King himself, the Peshwa approached the presence with the same observances as at the former interview; when, after a short interval, the Prince presented the Peshwa with an elephant, and the Peshwa, on taking leave, made him an offering of two elephants, two horses, eleven trays of cloths and two trays of jewellery. The Minister and Hari Punt (a famous Mahratta General), whose journey to Sidde Teyk (sic) seems to be dropped, remaining a few minutes after the Peshwa's departure, the Prince presented the former with a sword and the *sirpeich* that was on his own turban. The severe rains have hitherto prevented the Prince's moving since the ceremony, but I hear he will certainly march to-day or to-morrow to the place appointed for his residence (Gardone).

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Sd.) C. W. MALET."

BASANTA KUMAR BASU,

Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.

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THE REV. KRISHNA MOHAN BANERJI, C.I.E.,
1813-1885.

The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea,
D.L., C.F.E.,
BRAHMIN, CHRISTIAN, SCHOLAR AND PATRIOT.
(1813-1885.)

PALMAM QUI MERUIT FERAT.

ONE of the most interesting and least studied phases in the development of relations between the English and Indian communities in Bengal was the spontaneous movement towards Christianity of some intellectual Bengalees about a century ago. The British authorities had always set their faces against proselytism. On the other hand the missionaries of the Church of Rome, working from the beginning of the sixteenth century, had no other object in life than to convert some section of Indians of both creeds promiscuously to the doctrines of the Parent Church of Christianity, and in Southern India at least they attained no small measure of success. But the East India Company in its early days gave no encouragement to Protestant agents and regarded missionaries as a body with disfavour. Still outside of official circles representatives of all the Protestant denominations were ready with open arms to welcome newcomers and, once gained, used every effort to retain them in the fold. But the movement towards Protestant Christianity being largely spontaneous owed little to aggressive evangelisation. We shall not be far wrong if we associate it with the parallel adoption of English as the vehicle for higher education and public examinations, which adoption was the chief feature of that era of which Lord William Bentinck, Lord Macaulay and the Rajah Rammohun Roy were the leading luminaries. All the same it is noteworthy that seekers after the new light presented themselves largely of their own accord for admission to the fold of a faith which cannot but have appeared strange and even incomprehensible to the majority of them. Nor was the position made clearer or more attractive by the rivalries of the several Churches, Chapels and Societies, some at least of which claimed to be the sole depositaries of Christian truth, and the chief exponents of its ethics and worship. Great must have been the perception of those who could discern the truth behind these varied fronts.

Among these Dr. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, the subject of this monograph, is entitled to the first place. It is a matter for regret that no record worthy of his noble character and distinguished career has been preserved, and that original materials for such are completely lacking. Consequently few Indians of the present day can know of his great qualities as a scholar and a patriot as well as a man of faith. During his life he was rightly

called "the prince of Indian converts." As a scholar his learning commanded the respect and admiration of the most intellectual of his contemporaries. No other Indian of his day had mastered so many Oriental and Occidental languages. It is not surprising then to learn that he was considered one of the finest products of Western culture grafted on the culture of his own country. As a minister of the Church of Christ in Bengal, and as a citizen upon whom devolved many public duties, Dr. Banerjea filled a foremost place in the eyes of his compatriots, without distinction of caste or creed. He was esteemed and loved not only by his own community, but by Hindus and Mohammedans alike. Perhaps of no other Indian convert to Christianity could as much be truly said. The above remarks are sufficient to justify this attempt to revive his memory and restore his fame. Posterity should not be allowed to forget the example and work of one so eminent, whose character and learning placed him among the most illustrious of his time.

The writer's object is to compile from materials obtained only by diligent research and considerable expenditure of time a memoir of this Indian worthy. This, to deliver his countrymen from the opprobrium of allowing his name and fame to pass into oblivion. All of Dr. Banerjea's European and Indian contemporaries must now be dead. The task, therefore, of producing a full account of his varied career with the aid of their reminiscences is now impossible. The only way to accomplish it would be by exhaustive search among printed records, together with whatever aid may be available from other sources. If some fortunate inquirer should discover papers of a more intimate character than the present writer has found, we may then hope for a full biography. In the meantime this modest monograph must fill the gap.

To the negligence of their own families and perhaps also the apathy of scholars is due to the fact that we have been deprived of valuable personal papers and family records. These would undoubtedly have thrown light on the lives of many prominent men of Bengal. It may not be too late even now to initiate a scheme for collecting materials bearing on the lives of Indian worthies with the object of compiling a Dictionary of National Biography. This is a task that should appeal to the rising generation of our scholars. The collection of materials in the cases of such eminent persons as the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose and the late Lord Sinha, two of our greatest representatives in the generation now passing away, should not be deferred until all their contemporaries have gone. Present neglect in discharging this duty must result in depriving posterity of a full knowledge of those benefactors who were largely instrumental in raising the social and educational standards of their fellow-countrymen, either by personal efforts or princely benefactions.

EARLY LIFE AND CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.

Krishna Mohan Banerjea was born in Calcutta on May 24, 1813, in the house of his maternal grandfather. He was the second son of Babu

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HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO,
1809-1831.

[Reproduced from "Poems of H. L. V. Derozio"
by kind permission of Mr. F. B. Bradley-Birt.]

Jibon Krishna Banerjea, a member of the younger branch of a *koolin* Brahmin family, whose ancestral home was originally at Dakhineswar. Krishna Mohan's eldest brother was Bhuban Mohan, next to him came a sister, and his younger brother was Kali Mohan. His parents had settled in Calcutta in the locality now known as 11, Gooroooprosad Chowdhury's Lane. During childhood he had to suffer much hardship owing to family poverty. He received the rudimentary parts of his vernacular education at the Arpooly *patashala* founded by David Hare, and situated near his home. In 1822 Krishna Mohan joined the School Society's School, afterwards known as the "Hare School," and after two years was admitted into the Hindu College, where he showed great promise, in the study of Sanskrit and English. Young Banerjea lost his father in 1828, but fortunately through the influence of Mr. Hare received a monthly scholarship. This enabled him to complete his course. While yet at the Hindu College, he and another friend were severely punished by Professor H. H. Wilson for assaulting a College servant who had been guilty of disobedience. About this time he married Bindubashini, the daughter of Babu Radha Raman Chatterjee of Howrah, being then aged sixteen, and his bride only nine years.

Krishna Mohan was still at College when Henry Vivian Derozio, the great Eurasian teacher and poet, received his appointment, and soon came under his influence. Derozio's teaching and inspiration created a number of enthusiastic reformers amongst his students, and not the least notable was Krishna Mohan Banerjea. Derozio was a young man with extraordinary gifts of mental power and charm. These soon attracted the best students of the College, with whom he discussed all kinds of subjects, social, moral, religious and literary. His students were so fond of him that they used to visit privately at his house in Lower Circular Road. At Derozio's suggestion the students formed an Academic Association in which Krishna Mohan took an active part. Many of his fellow students did the same, among them being Russik Krishna Mullick, Dakhina Ranjan Mookerjee, Ram Gopal Ghose, Hara Chandra Ghose, Radhanath Sikdar, Madhab Chandra Mullick and Mohes Chandra Ghose. The Association met frequently and was also attended by the most distinguished Englishmen of the day like Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. W. W. Bird, Deputy Governor of Bengal, David Hare and other Bengal advocates of English education. Some young members were noted for their eloquence; the *Hindu Patriot* informs us that "Krisrna Mohan was the readiest and most effective speaker, unaffected in manner, calm and unimpassioned, though sometimes bursting into vehemence, and always practical." The members were not satisfied merely with oral proceedings, but also started a paper called "The Parthenon," which was for a time widely circulated. It contained articles such as "Down with Hinduism;" "Down with Orthodoxy." Such youthful activities alarmed the College authorities, who as a result, through Professor H. H. Wilson, stopped publication of the paper. Most of Derozio's students made their mark in later life, and as Babu Peary Chand Mitra declares,

the "moral lessons taught by Derozio gradually produced good practical effects." Nor was Mr. Thomas Edwards wrong in stating that "to the despised and all but unknown Eurasian lad, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, belongs the chief glory and high honour of being the first, and to this day, the most effectual motive power to move to its very depths the religious sentiments, aspirations and beliefs of educated Hindus" (1). Indeed the influence of English education, coupled with the teaching imparted by Derozio, heralded the dawn of a new era in Bengal. Unfortunately the parents of the students did not value the beneficent aspect of Derozio's teaching and that fact, added to the machinations of unscrupulous people who circulated false rumours against his precepts, caused the Managing Committee of the Hindu College to dismiss him in 1831. Mr. Bradley-Birt, in his introduction to *Derozio's Poems*, points out that "Much as they misunderstood his methods of thought, they made no mistake as to his extraordinary power and influence over the minds of all those of a younger generation with whom he was brought in contact" (2). Derozio had nothing in common with the spirit displayed by so many Eurasians to-day. He was proud to reckon India as his own country. The "Eurasian Byron," as Derozio was styled, loved his students greatly, as the following oft-quoted lines testify:—

"Expanding like the petals of young flowers
I watch the gentle opening of your minds,
And the sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers
That stretch (like young birds in soft summer hours),
Their wings to try their strength."

Krishna Mohan was one of the very few favourite students of Derozio, and was in constant attendance with other friends at the sick bed of their teacher, when he died only eight months after dismissal. Again Krishna Mohan took an active part at the memorial meeting held in the Parental Academy to consider the erection of a monument to Derozio's memory.

It would be interesting to compare the influence of Derozio, Richardson, Cowell or Tawney upon their students with that exercised at the present day by professors in some of the Calcutta Colleges in the course of academic relations with their students. In those early days students loved their teachers and were loved in return. Now they ventilate their grievances by violent methods directed against the College authorities, thus taking the law in their own hands. This is a significant symptom which invites diagnosis.

Before leaving the Hindu College in 1829 Krishna Mohan was offered a teachership at the Delhi College, which after accepting he felt himself obliged to relinquish. Later, however, he accepted a post at the Hare

(1) See p. 91 of *Henry Derozio* by Thomas Edwards, Calcutta, 1884.

(2) Mr. Bradley-Birt wrote an excellent Introduction to *Derozio's Poems*; but it contains facts already mentioned by Mr. Edwards in his *Life of Derozio*.

School. During that time a journalistic spirit arose amongst the young reformers, and Krishna Mohan started a weekly organ called *The Inquirer* in order to "wage war against Hinduism." His friends were equally active, and one, named Russik Krishna Mullick, became the editor of *Gyannanashan*, while another, Prosunno Kumar Tagore, became responsible for *The Reformer*. These young writers denounced Hinduism week after week in the columns of their respective journals. Not the least effective of the appeals was that of the *The Inquirer*, whose editor pointed out to the orthodox Hindus the defects of their religion and circulated his paper gratuitously among them. Mr. Lal Behari Day rightly remarked that amongst the brilliant band of students Krishna Mohan "was by far the most effective in his denunciations of Hinduism." All those papers were ably edited, and we get glimpses of their reforming zeal in Mr. Day's reminiscences. "Week after week he put, in the columns of *The Enquirer*, the orthodox Hindus into the pillory. Deeming the columns of his paper not wide enough for the exercise of his satirical powers, he published a drama, which he named the *Persecuted*, in which he showed, with much wit and sarcasm, that those members of the Hindu community who passed for orthodox were in reality hypocrites, and that, in truth, there was no such thing as caste. He thus became, amongst the band of reformers, the most uncompromising denouncer of the national superstition (3). His house became the resort of those young men who had perceived the absurdity of the national religion, and were breaking through the fetters of caste. An incident occurred in his house in August, 1831, which greatly excited the orthodox Hindus, and made Krishna Mohan the object of persecution. One evening, when he was not at home, his friends as usual went into his room, and entered into friendly discussion. As all of them were denouncing caste, one of them proposed that they should give a practical proof of their sincerity by eating beef, which is the Hindu's abomination. Beef was accordingly brought from a shop, and put upon the table. Every one present ate a little of it; but as that meat is not palatable to a Hindu, a good deal remained uneaten. A mischievous fellow proposed that the uneaten portion should be thrown on the premises of the next door neighbour, a Brahmin of the orthodox stamp. The proposal was accepted; the meat flung into the yard of the Brahmin's house, amidst shouts of 'Beef! beef! beef!' The consequences may be imagined. All Calcutta was excited. The horror and indignation of the Hindus knew no bounds. Krishna Mohan was asked by his relatives either to abjure his heretical opinions and practices, or to leave the house. He chose the latter alternative. For one month he lived in the house of a friend" (4). Krishna Mohan in after life described that episode in the following moving terms:—"We left the home where we passed our infant days; we left our mother that nourished us in our childhood; we left our brothers with whom we associated in our earliest days; we left our sisters

(3) Krishna Mohan particularly attacked Rajah Radha Kanta Deb.

(4) See p. 32-44 of *Recollections of Alexander Duff*, by the Rev. Lal Behari Day, London, 1879.

with whom we sympathized since they were born " (5). The excitement caused amongst the orthodox Hindus by his conduct did not readily die down. The vernacular newspapers of the day continued for months to vilify him and his brother "apostates." The result of the agitation was so great that some parents became alarmed at the apparent danger of English education and withdrew their boys from the Hindu College. Many of the students who opposed Hinduism, recanted and resumed idolatrous faith and practices (6).

Before we describe Dr. Duff's influence on Krishna Mohan's life and career, it may be noted that it was the example of the Rajah Rammohan Roy, who combined in himself the best traditions of East and West that stimulated him to follow in the footsteps of that great reformer. Krishna Mohan had never met the Rajah but knew his son Ramaprosad Roy. It was not till after his marriage also that he began to realise the force of those rigid social customs observed by the women-folk of his own house. He was shocked at the austerities and penances which his widowed mother practised daily. When he remonstrated with her she said that she had to do it in order to satisfy the diety, because *Death* had claimed her husband. This made Krishna Mohan disgusted with the thought of such a deity: he declared in consequence that there was no God and became a professed atheist.

Dr. Duff took advantage of this situation and invited him to take refuge in his house. Mr. J. N. Ogilvie described how "when every Hindu door was closed against him, Duff's door opened, and an intercourse began which culminated later in the accession to the Church of Christ of a man who, for half a century, remained one of its greatest ornaments" (7). Dr. Duff expressed approval of Krishna Mohan's proceedings against error; but regretted that the truth of Christianity had as yet made no impression upon him. Dr. Duff further suggested that Krishna Mohan should inquire into the evidences and doctrines of Christianity and these so much impressed him that he at once arranged for weekly meetings to be held "for religious instruction and discussion" at the former's house. At the same time he bought a copy of the Holy Bible which he studied very attentively and often visited Dr. Duff for the purpose of discussing various subjects connected with it. Dr. Duff from the day of his own arrival in Calcutta in 1830, until he retired in 1863, proved an earnest and zealous missionary.

(5) See p. 155, Vol. 2 of *The Life of Alexander Duff*.

(6) Besides the authorities already quoted, the present writer owes some of his information concerning Dr. Banerjea's early life to his widowed daughter, Mrs. Wheeler. Ram Gopal Sanyal's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India, Vol. II*; and Sivanath Sastri's *Ramtanu Lahiri* have been useful. Mr. Pillai's *Representative Indians* and Mr. B. C. Ghose's *Sketches of Indian Christians* are mainly based on Sanyal's work. It may be remarked that Mr. Pillai inserted in his book a paragraph verbatim from the obituary of Dr. K. M. Banerjea published in the *Hindu Patriot* for May 18, 1885, without any word of acknowledgment. This refers to the last paragraph of his sketch of Dr. Banerjea. See p. 67 of *Representative Indians*.

(7) See p. 392-3 of *The Asiatics of India*.

It is not surprising therefore that he exercised a beneficial influence upon the Hindu youths of Calcutta. Mr. Lal Behari Day in recalling those stirring days in the history of the Presbyterian Mission in Bengal wrote of Dr. Duff that:—"He had already appeared as a public lecturer on Christianity, and his lectures had taken Calcutta by storm. These lectures had not only created a great sensation in the Hindu community, but they had brought to the Christian faith one of the brightest and best educated youths of the city. Only a year and a half before, Dr. Duff had baptized Krishna Mohan Banerjea; and the conversion of Krishna Banda, as he was then universally called, had produced a tremendous impression on the Hindu community." Krishna Mohan writing as the editor of the *Inquirer* referred to the great European reformers in alluding to his own experience:—"Does not history testify that Luther, alone and unsupported, blew a blast which shook the mansions of error and prejudice? Did not Knox, opposed as he was by bigots and fanatics, carry the cause of reformation into Scotland? Blessed are we that we are to reform the Hindoo nation. We have blown the trumpet, and we must continue to blow on. We have attacked Hindooism, and will persevere in attacking it until we finally seal our triumph" (8). Such was the determination and zeal of this Brahmin youth, who was at the time apparently an earnest student not only of the Bible, but also of Church History of the Reformation period in Europe.

It was not long before Krishna Mohan grasped the importance as well as the practical truth of Christianity. Dr. Duff's powerful reasoning and persuasive eloquence so impressed him and his friends that they returned day after day for further instruction, continuing with great earnestness to do so in spite of considerable opposition. Although the keen Bengali intellect appreciated the arguments employed by Dr. Duff, it was only gradually and painfully that Krishna Mohan and his special friends became convinced of the love of Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit. In the *Inquirer* for August 28, 1832, he gave an account of the baptism of his friend, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, and expressed the hope that Dr. Duff would be able to "witness more such happy results" in the future. Dr. Duff himself described the gradual change in Krishna Mohan's attitude towards Christianity thus:—"His case excited more than ordinary interest. . . As a Brahmin, he would from infancy be initiated into all the mysteries of a heathen priestcraft. As a Kulin Brahman, a Brahmin of the highest caste, he had before him the prospect of much worldly enjoyment; and the certain assurance of unbounded reverence from the great mass, who would esteem it their highest privilege to be permitted to do him honour. But Providence had better things in store for Krishna Mohan Banerjea. . . From the first, he was a most regular and attentive hearer of the lectures specially addressed to those educated Natives [sic] who fiercely denounced Hinduism without having succeeded in discovering a substitute. And, to his credit be it spoken, he never relaxed in his endeavours to impress his countrymen

(8) Dr. George Smith quoted those lines in the *Life of Dr. Alexander Duff*.

with a sense of the duty of attending, in order to give the subject a candid consideration.

"The first visible symptom of improvement in his views appeared in the unhesitating assertion, in his Journal, of the being of one Supreme Intelligence; whose power, wisdom and goodness, as manifested in the works of creation, are without bounds or limit. Afterwards were admitted many discussions, chiefly carried on by correspondents, respecting the evidences, and last of all, the doctrines of Christianity. And though, in conducting these, the editor took no very decided part, yet did it most clearly appear to which side he was gradually inclined to lean. While he professed to admire the moral precepts of the Gospel, his mind was long painful agitated with doubts respecting the divine authority and inspiration of the Scriptures. And after their authority had been established to his satisfaction, his mind revolted at what appeared to him the utter unreasonableness of some of the doctrines therein propounded; and more particularly the doctrine of the *atonement*, which necessarily implies the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (9).

Dr. Duff further quotes from Krishna Mohan's account of his own conversion. The quotation is long, but well repays attentive perusal. It may be summarised as follows:—After being led to examine closely into the claims of Christianity he found himself anxiously weighing in his mind the Socinian and Trinitarian interpretations. To the former he objected that it was too trivial to justify "such extraordinary measures as those which Jesus employed for the propagation" of His Gospel. In the latter the Atonement was the great stumbling block to his "mere natural reasons." The latter, however, being the plain teaching of Scripture, he tried to persuade himself of its truth, but "reason" barred the way. Thus there were for long doubt and perplexity. Then within him occurred an example of Christ's own words. 'It is the spirit that quickeneth.' To his merely intellectual understanding of the Atonement came illumination from the Holy Spirit. 'Then he *knew*. 'The things of the Spirit of God. . . are spiritually discerned.' Further on, commenting on this experience, he points out that while the *head* may assent to divine truth, the *heart* will not obey till the Spirit has quickened (10).

Dr. Duff tells us that after carefully weighing the evidences of Christianity and being convinced of its truth Krishna Mohan declared his wish to be baptised into the Church of Christ. The actual baptism took place on October 17, 1832, by Krishna Mohan's special desire, in Dr. Duff's lecture room. That room had been associated with his opposition to Christianity in the presence of his friends; he felt it fitting, therefore, that his public confession of Christ should be made before those who had known him formerly "as an idolater, an atheist, a deist and unbeliever." The Service,

(9) See pp. 652-53 of *India, and India Missions*, by the Rev. Alexander Duff, Edinburgh, 1839.

(10) See p. 653-4 of *India, and India Missions*, by the Rev. Alexander Duff.



[Reproduced from the "Portrait Sketches of the public characters of Calcutta" by
Colesworthy Grant.]

it would appear, deeply impressed all present. These included some ladies besides a number of students from the Hindu College. Amongst the latter were some of Krishna Mohan's special friends. The Service began with prayers offered by Mr. Mackay, and after questions addressed by Dr. Duff to Krishna Mohan regarding his faith and convictions, the Holy Sacrament was administered. Dr. Duff then led in prayer in which the whole congregation devoutly joined.

The *Missionary Register* for July, 1834, gives an account of the baptism:—"The fact of a sensible young man, having received a liberal education, and who was a Coolin Brahmin, throwing off the shackles of a grovelling superstition, and embracing for his faith the glorious Gospel, after a long and patient probation, with the sacrifice of the affections of a tender mother and fond relations, exposed to the ridicule and cruel hatred of his countrymen, and, despite of these, counting them as dross for the excellency of the knowledge of the Truth, and eventually avowing his conviction of that Truth, and receiving the outward sign of that invisible grace of which he is now the subject, was indeed enough to excite that deep interest which was so conspicuously manifested" (11). Krishna Mohan fifty years after this event told a fellow-Christian that "he could still hear the piercing shriek with which his venerable mother heard the news—a shriek which Christian England has never heard and can hardly yet appreciate" (12). It will be easily realised how profound was the sensation caused by Krishna Mohan's baptism through all classes of society in Calcutta. Every publicity was given to it by the leading newspapers of the day. It may be mentioned that others besides Dr. Duff used their influence in persuading Krishna Mohan to accept Christianity. These were Archdeacon Dealtry (13), Colonel Powney, Mr. Hill and Captain Corbyn of the Royal Navy. Mr. Sanyal records that in the latter's house one day Krishna Mohan read "Horn's Study of Scripture" for three hours consecutively.

It must not be forgotten that the teaching and influence of Derozio were also largely responsible for the revolutionising change in the minds of Krishna Mohan and his friends in their search for Truth. Derozio insisted on his students exercising their own powers of thought in the formation of a true conception of God. That aspect of Derozio's teaching was misjudged by the Rev. Lal Behari Day. In May, 1885, a letter from him appeared in the *Englishman* referring to an extract quoted from Mr. Edwards's *Life of Derozio*. This concerned the latter's religious influence upon the students of the Hindu College. In our opinion Mr. Day was not altogether just in his estimate of Derozio's teaching and influence, neither

(11) See p. 323-24 of the *Missionary Register*, July, 1834.

(12) See an article on K. M. Banerjea in the *Young Men of India*, May, 1912.

(13) Thomas Dealtry was a Commoner of St. Katherine's College, Cambridge, where he studied Civil Law and took the LL.B. degree in 1828. He went out to Calcutta in 1829, and after some years Bishop Wilson made him Archdeacon. He was also Pastor of the Old Church. Dealtry was renowned for his gifts of eloquence. Afterwards he became Bishop of Madras.

was Mr. Edwards in his reply on May 18 absolutely correct regarding Dr. Duff's own influence and share in Krishna Mohan's conversion. Some of the arguments used on both sides were irrelevant and therefore not convincing. It was stated by the Rev. Mr. Dall that Dwarka Nath Tagore attributed Krishna Mohan's conversion to "beef and brandy" which "tasted very well."

It has been suggested by many writers that Krishna Mohan was the first Brahmin convert to Christianity. He was actually the first Brahmin convert of Dr. Duff, but other Brahmins had been previously baptised. In 1759 Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary in Bengal, baptised a Brahmin (14); and in 1802 William Carey among other converts baptised a Brahmin of the name of Krishna Prosad (15). It appears that Krishna Mohan after his conversion attended Sunday Services at the Old Church in the morning, and St. Andrews in the evening.

Thus a new chapter opened in the life of Krishna Mohan Banerjea. In entering on it he literally obeyed the injunction of his Master. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me." As Pandit Sivanath Sastri truly said his "countrymen now hated and opposed him more than ever; but, undaunted by all their attempts to crush him, he rose higher and higher, till he attained a position of great public influence."

Allusion has already been made to Dr. Duff's activities in lecturing to the educated young men of Calcutta. During this period his success in evangelising was very great. His lectures on the Evidences and Doctrines of the Gospel attracted much attention and the lecture room was crowded by members of the upper and educated classes eager to listen to his eloquent reasoning, illustrated as it was by wide knowledge of literature and science. As a result of his labours several of the educated youths of Calcutta were converted to Christianity. Gopi Nath Nandi, father of Dr. George Nandi of Hyderabad, soon followed the example of Krishna Mohan, being greatly aided by the latter in coming to a decision.

Krishna Mohan now found himself obliged to earn his own livelihood and accepted the post of teacher at the C. M. S. School. Here he had been preceded by his friend Mohesh Chunder Ghose. He joined the Church of England not long after baptism and his reasons for doing so were explained in an autobiography published in the *India Review*, edited by Dr. Frederick Corbyn. Krishna Mohan considered that the doctrines of the Church of England were more in accordance with Scripture than those professed by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in which Church he had not become a Communicant. That decision was naturally a great blow and disappointment to Dr. Duff, who had taken infinite pains and trouble in preparing him for baptism, besides instructing him in the Christian Faith. He never wavered in his ecclesiastical convictions, but lived and died a

(14) See p. 6 of *The Centenary of the Old or Mission Church*.

(15) See pp. 139-46, of *Life of William Carey*, by George Smith.



THE VENERABLE T. DEASTRY, LL.B.,
Archdeacon of Calcutta (1835-1849).
[Reproduced from *The Indian Review* (March, 1843).]

faithful member of the Church of England in India. Krishna Mohan cannot however be altogether exonerated from having behaved unfairly to his old friend Dr. Duff. The result of his action was a long and painful controversy carried on in the columns of the *India Review* in the form of long articles from Krishna Mohan, Dr. Duff and Dr. Ewart. After the editor of the *India Review* had closed the controversy it was continued in *The Record*, published in London. That paper was and still is the organ of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England and in those days bitterly attacked the opinions held by members of the High Church School of thought. The Calcutta correspondent of *The Record* (June 12, 1843) unjustly accused Krishna Mohan of becoming a " Jesuit " and an " Associate Professor " of St. Xavier's College. He also attacked him for his sympathy and co-operation with the authorities of Bishop's College, threatening him with possible action on the part of the Bishop and the Archdeacon of Calcutta if he should ever positively identify himself with the High Church Party. It was unfortunate that Dr. Duff during the controversy also indulged in satirical invectives against the same school of thought which he rightly judged had influenced Krishna Mohan in his resolution to leave the Presbyterian Church. It is to be regretted also that he styled him the " Rev. Babu " which was hardly in keeping with his own Christian profession. In spite of the bitter controversy between them, Krishna Mohan continued to cherish a deep regard for his old friend as will be shewn later in the course of this sketch.

After Krishna Mohan became a Christian he showed much zeal in propagating his new faith and got into serious trouble by assisting one of his pupils, desirous of becoming a Christian, to escape from his father's house. The latter obtained a writ of *Habeas Corpus* against him, and the presiding Judge, Sir Edward Ryan, found that the boy had been " allured " from his parents and ordered that he should be returned to his father, as he was still under age (16). At that time amongst Krishna Mohan's other activities he took much interest in the Church Missionary Association, and during 1833-4 travelled extensively in the North Western Provinces. On his return he had the great joy of learning that his wife, Bindubasini, had finally decided to accept Christianity. Owing to the opposition of her orthodox parents, he had much difficulty in arranging for her to rejoin him and was obliged to obtain the assistance of a Magistrate.

In 1836, through Archdeacon Dealtry's influence, he obtained a scholarship in Bishop's College, for the purpose of studying theology. At the same time also, he superintended the Oriental studies of the students. He devoted himself assiduously to the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew under Dr. Mill, first Principal of Bishop's College. His classical studies proved of great assistance to his work in theology and literature. The following year he offered himself for Holy Orders and was ordained Deacon on June 24, by Bishop Wilson (17). In 1837, the same year, he had the

(16) See Sanyal's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India*.

(17) See p. 84 of *Church Missionary Gleaner*, July, 1885.

privilege of preaching in English, at the Old Mission Church, the funeral sermon in memory of his friend and colleague Mohesh Chunder Ghose. This was his first sermon, and the Bishop heard it with "wonder and delight;" it was also much appreciated by David Hare who was present on the occasion. Krishna Mohan pointed out in his sermon that "Mohesh Christian was a creature very different from Mohesh Pagan." He further said that: "His piety as a Christian, his diligence as a student, his attainments as a scholar, and his courtesy as a man, had rendered him an object of love and regard to all around him." Whilst a Deacon he administered his first baptism—on Jadunath Ghose. This was followed in 1838 by the baptism of his own brother Kali Mohan in the Chapel of Bishop's College.

(To be continued.)

H. DAS.

Organised Banking in the Days of John Company.

THERE is no more obscure subject in Indian Economic history than the growth and operations of the European Joint-Stock Banks and the indigenous banking houses which conducted their business in India during this period. It has remained and is bound to remain for a long time an unwritten chapter in the history of Indian Banking as these banks did not publish valuable statistics and other data stating precisely their assets and liabilities which would be of service in any scientific account of them. A few papers of great importance which have not been used so far by the writers on Indian Banking really throw a valuable light on the development and the state of exchange and monetary conditions of that time.

There are four publications which attempt to throw light on the banking institutions working during this period. MacGregor writing in 1848 enumerates the banks of this period in his "Oriental Commerce Part (XXIII)" which forms a part of his wider work "Commercial Tariffs." The next writer R. M. Martin furnishes us a list of banks in existence in India during the years 1803-1854 (1). There is a Parliamentary return of the year 1860 which gives us the following list of the Banks doing business in India at that time (2).

| BENGAL. | MADRAS. | BOMBAY. | COUNTRY BANKS. |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| Bank of Bengal ... | The Bank of Madras. | The Bank of Bombay. | The Dacca Bank. |
| The Agra & United Service Bank. | Branch of the Agra & United Service Bank. | Branch of the Agra & United Service Bank. | The Delhi Bank. |
| The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China. | The Government Savings Bank. | The Government Savings Bank. | The Simla Bank. |
| The Chartered Mercantile Bank of London, India and China. | Branch of the Chartered Mercantile Bank of London, India & China. | Branch of the Chartered Mercantile Bank of London, India & China. | The Uncovered Service Bank of Agra. |
| The Commercial Bank of India. | | Branch of the Commercial Bank of India (3). | |

(1) See R. M. Martin, Indian Empire, Vol., I, p. 565.

(2) See the Collection of Parliamentary Papers 1843-1870 in the Library of the University of Calcutta; Document, c, refers to the banks existing in India in 1860.

(3) Compare this with Martin's list.

| BENGAL. | MADRAS. | BOMBAY. | COUNTRY BANKS. |
|--------------------------------|---|---|------------------------|
| The North-Western Bank. | | | |
| The Oriental Bank Corporation. | Branch of the Oriental Banking Corporation. | Branch of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China. | The Agra Savings Bank. |
| The Government Savings Bank. | ..... | ..... | ..... |

To have an idea of banks conducting business in the earlier years reference must be made to McGregor. His publication already referred to enumerates the Banks doing business in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Ceylon. It was natural on his part to make no reference to the country banks which undoubtedly existed at that time as his work was solely concerned with commerce at the chief port centres. Coming to his list we find the following banks mentioned by him.

| CALCUTTA. | BOMBAY. | MADRAS. | CEYLON. |
|---|---|-----------------------|---------------------|
| The Bank of Bengal. | Besides the banks of the town there | The Bank of Madras. | The Bank of Ceylon. |
| The Union Bank ... | are branches or | The branches of | The Oriental |
| The Agra Bank ... | agencies of other | other banks are | Bank. |
| The Bank of Western India (Calcutta Branch. | banks. He does not however specify the names of the Banking institutions. | not mentioned by him. | |

Of the two banks in Ceylon, viz., the Bank of Ceylon and the Oriental Bank MacGregor gives interesting details which are not furnished either by Cooke or any other recent writer as regards their capital, nature of business and note-issue. The Bank of Ceylon was a Bank of Issue incorporated by Royal Charter in 1840 and confined its business solely to the Island of Ceylon. But to facilitate its exchange business it had agencies in the Presidency Towns of India. Its circulation of notes amounted in 1840 to £127,487 according to MacGregor. The Oriental Bank had its head office in London and also a Board of Directors in Bombay. It had considerable operations at Calcutta, Madras, Canton, Hongkong and Singapore. Its note-issue in 1846 was about £15,000. The total capital of both the banks as applied to Ceylon was very limited being about £100,000 to £125,000. In addition to exchange business the sale of bills in England and the Presidency Towns of India they received deposits and discounted local bills for merchants and traders. The latter mainly comprise purchases made by the *chetties* from importers chiefly of British produce and the acceptances of the Moormen retailers whose paper is for smaller amounts proportionate to their minor transactions. "Speaking of the gradual growth of their banking business the transactions of 1846 rose roughly to two millions while in 1845 they amounted to only one and half millions." MacGregor also testifies to the absence of speculation on the part of the merchants of Ceylon (4).

(4) See *Oriental Commerce* p. 710-712.

R. M. Martin who seems to be a more careful writer than MacGregor gives us the following table which shows at a glance the work of the banks of this period (1803-1854) as certain errors have to be corrected the full list has necessarily to be quoted.

| YEAR OF ESTAB- LISH- MENT. | HEAD OFFICE. | BRANCHES & AGENCIES. | Capital Sub- scribed. | Paid-up capital. | Notes in circula- tion. | Specie in coffers | Bills under discount. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| The Bank of Bengal ... | Calcutta. | ..... | 10,70,000 | 10,70,000 | 17,14,711 | 8,51,964 | 1,25,251 |
| The Bank of Madras ... | Madras. | ..... | 3,00,000 | 3,00,000 | 1,23,719 | 1,39,960 | 59,871 |
| The Bank of Bombay | Bombay. | ..... | 5,22,000 | 5,22,000 | 5,71,089 | 2,40,073 | 1,95,836 |
| The Oriental Bank ... | London. | ..... | 12,15,000 | 12,15,000 | 1,29,279 | 11,46,529 | 29,18,399 |
| The Agra & United Provinces Bank. | Calcutta. | Agra, Madras, Lahore, Canton and London. | 7,00,000 | 7,00,000 | ..... | 74,362 | ..... |
| The North-West Bank | Calcutta. | Bombay, Simla, Mussuri, Agra, Delhi and Cawnpore. | 2,20,560 | 2,20,000 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| The London & Eastern Bank. | ..... | ..... | 2,50,000 | ..... | 3,25,000 | ..... | ..... |
| The Commercial Bank | Bombay. | Agents in London, Calcutta, Canton and Shanghai. | 10,00,000 | 4,56,000 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| The Delhi Bank ... | Delhi. | Agents in London, Calcut, Bombay and Madras. | ..... | 1,80,000 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| The Simla Bank ... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 63,850 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| The Dacca Bank ... | Dacca. | ..... | 30,000 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| The Mercantile Bank | Bombay. | London, Calcutta, Colombo, Kandy, Canton and Shanghai. | 5,00,000 | 3,28,826 | 7,77,156 | 77,239 | 1,09,547 |
| India, China & Austra- lia Bank. | did not commence business as yet. | did not commence business as yet. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

A comparison of this list with the Parliamentary one and the final list prepared by me would disclose certain discrepancies. Firstly the Head Office of the Commercial Bank is stated to be located at Bombay by Martin. The Parliamentary list which must be considered as a more authoritative source locates it at Calcutta. This Bank was started in 1845 and not in 1854. The Oriental Bank is supposed to be started in 1851 according to Martin's list. But it was first started in 1842 under the title of Bank of Western India and to secure the privileges of 1845 Act, removed to London and became the Oriental Bank in 1846 and it became the Oriental Banking Corporation in 1849 by virtue of its amalgamation with the Bank of Ceylon. This was done mainly in order to annex the note-issue privilege of the Bank of Ceylon. The mistakes in the matter of date are not due to Martin but Dr. Ambedkar who quotes the above list which contains however no dates fills in the date column and the discrepancy in dates must of course be attributed to Dr. Ambedkar (5).

Cooke (6) records the work of thirty-nine European Banks which have been started in India or London during this period mainly with the view of conducting banking business in India. But even this list is not an exhaustive one for he fails to mention the names of some of the earlier European Banks of the 18th Century. It is evident that his information of the Earlier European Banks is very scrappy and is chiefly confined to few details of these operations as could be gleaned from the early records of the Bank of Bengal. It is evident that he has not consulted any of the periodicals and newspapers or else he would not have omitted the work of the three Military Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras (7).

A recent writer who comments in an interesting and detailed manner on the method of the Early European Banks in Calcutta bases his information on the Selections of the Calcutta Gazette and by a reference to the Government records of that time in the India Government Record Office and the Secretariat Office of the Government of Bengal he has succeeded in pointing out the qualitative aspect of the work of the Early European Banks in Calcutta, viz., the Bengal Bank, the Hindustan Bank, the General Bank of India, and the General Bank of Warren Hastings and the Bank of Calcutta which became rechristened as the Bank of Bengal as soon as it received its charter in 1809. His knowledge of the Bank of this period is confined solely to Banks of the City of Calcutta and he makes no reference either to the earlier Bank which did business before the actual starting of the Bank of Hindostan or the contemporary Madras Banks. He does not even mention the name of the Carnatic Bank.

Dr. P. Banerjee in his valuable lectures on the State of Finance of the East India Company has given the public a glimpse into the nature of the work of the banks existing during these years—1770-1857. He succeeds in throwing more light on "the General Bank of Warren Hastings which should

(5) See Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's "Problems of the Rupee"—Footnote on p. 37.

(6) See Dr. A. Sinha "Early European Banks" Part I.

(7) See C. N. Cooke "Rise and Progress of Banking in India."

not however be mistaken for the General Bank of India started in 1785. The attempt of Warren Hastings to organise the Bank in 1773 and thus perfect the means of easy and safe remittance from the moffusil into the metropolitan city and the nature of the work of this short-lived institution are first outlined clearly in Price's History of Midnapore. Some more details are given by Dr. Banerjee (8).

Before the work of these banks, which have not been mentioned by these previous writers including Cooke and Brunyate, can be taken up in detail a reference to Cooke's list should be made.

| NAME OF THE BANK. | | | | Year of its starting. |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| (1) The Bank of Bengal | ... | ... | ... | 1806—Chartered in 1809. |
| (2) The Bank of Western India | ... | ... | ... | 1842 |
| (3) The Oriental Bank | ... | ... | ... | 1816 |
| (4) The Oriental Banking Corporation | ... | ... | ... | 1851 |
| (5) The Bank of Madras | ... | ... | ... | 1843 |
| (6) The Government Bank of Madras | ... | ... | ... | 1805 |
| (7) The Bank of Bombay | ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| (8) The Union Bank | ... | ... | ... | 1829 |
| (9) The Bank of Hindostan | ... | ... | ... | 1770 |
| (10) The Commercial Bank | ... | ... | ... | 1819 |
| (11) The Calcutta Bank | ... | ... | ... | 1824 |
| (12) The Bank of Mirzapore | ... | ... | ... | 1835 |
| (13) The Agra & United Service Bank, Ltd. | ... | ... | ... | 1833 |
| (14) The North-Western Bank of India | ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| (15) The Delhi Bank Corporation | ... | ... | ... | 1844 |
| (16) The Dacca Bank | ... | ... | ... | 1846 |
| (17) The Benares Bank | ... | ... | ... | 1844 |
| (18) The Simla Bank, Ltd. | ... | ... | ... | 1844 |
| (19) The London and Eastern Banking Corporation | ... | ... | ... | 1854 |
| (20) The Cawnpore Bank | ... | ... | ... | 1845 |
| (21) The Uncovenanted Service Bank, Ltd. | ... | ... | ... | 1846 |
| (22) The Agra Savings Fund | ... | ... | ... | 1842 |
| (23) The Commercial Bank of India | ... | ... | ... | 1845 |
| (24) The Government Savings Bank | ... | ... | ... | 1833 |
| (25) The Chartered Bank of Asia | ... | ... | ... | 1852 |
| (26) The Mercantile Bank of India, London and China | ... | ... | ... | 1853 |
| (27) The Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China | ... | ... | ... | 1858 |
| (28) The Bank of Ceylon | ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| (29) The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China | ... | ... | ... | 1853 |
| (30) The Punzab Bank, Ltd. | ... | ... | ... | 1860 |
| (31) The Sindh Punzab and Delhi Bank Corporation, Ltd. | ... | ... | ... | 1860 |
| (32) The Central Bank of Western India | ... | ... | ... | Nov.—1860 |
| (33) The Bank of Hindostan, China, and Japan Ltd. | ... | ... | ... | 1862 |
| (34) The Bank of Rohilkand | ... | ... | ... | 1862 |
| (35) The People's Bank of India, Ltd. | ... | ... | ... | 1860 |
| (36) The Comptoir D'escompte of Paris | ... | ... | ... | 1860 |
| (37) The Bengal Bank | ... | ? | ... | 1790 |
| (38) The Bank of India | ... | ... | ... | 1828 |
| (39) Carnatic Bank: | ... | ... | ... | ? |

(8) See *The Calcutta Review*, November, 1927, pp. 133 to 141.

Besides the above-mentioned banks which conducted business for some time Mr. Cooke also mentions the unsuccessful attempts that were made during this period to start banks in London with the sole purpose of conducting banking business in India. He casually mentions the attempts of the London merchants to found the "East India Bank" in 1826. (9) R. M. Martin strove his level best to secure a charter for his projected Bank of Asia in 1840 (10). Similarly in 1852 the London Bank of Australia and India was projected but owing to the opposition of the Colonial Office in London it failed to secure a Charter.

Since Cooke wrote the memorable lines that probably the first banking institution in India on European lines "was the Bank of Hindostan started in 1770" it has become the accepted article of faith among writers of Indian Banking History. This statement has to be accepted with much qualification. It must be understood that banks must have operated in India with either good or bad fortune even before that date. It is usual to consider the Government Bank of Lord William Bentinck as the only Government Bank conducted by the Government of Madras. As a matter of fact there were two such Government Banks conducted by the Madras Government. No mention has been made by any other writer of the attempts made in Bombay to conduct Banking business by the Government Bank started by the Government of Bombay. Even as regards some of the banks started in Bengal Cooke throws little light on their operations. For instance the General Bank of Warren Hastings is not mentioned by him. His description of the work of the Government Savings Bank is not fairly lucid. No information can be obtained from Cooke's book as regards the first Government Bank of Madras and the Carnatic Bank. He does not even mention the names of the British Bank or the Asiatic Bank. Even in the case of the joint-stock banks of the North-West Provinces only very little light is thrown on their operations. Although he has given very interesting details of the Agra Savings Bank or Agra Savings Fund as he styles it the three Military Banks did not attract his notice.

Most probably the credit of starting the first European managed banking institution belongs to the "benighted" province of Madras. It was however a Government institution managed by its officers belonging to the Council (11). It must have been started in 1683, as the following notification which appears in the Fort Saint George Gazette clearly proves this fact.

"By the Hon. East India Company's order we the Agent and Council of the Fort Saint George do hereby publicly declare unto all parties whatsoever that we will at any time take up and receive what sums of money so ever should be brought to us at six per cent. per annum. Interest for six or twelve months time or any longer term of years but no less than six

(9) For greater details see a pamphlet entitled "Reasons for the Establishment of a new Bank in India," 1836, London, a copy of this exists in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

(10) See Parliamentary Paper entitled "Correspondence relating to the projected Bank of Asia" Document C of the Parliamentary Papers, 1840-1870.

(11) See Talbhoy Wheeler "Madras in the Olden Times," p. 71.

months nor to exceed this time we shall agree for and we shall for the better security of such persons that shall so let out their money give our receipt for the same under the Honourable Company's seal."

A close scrutiny of the prior records of the Government discloses the information that it was in 1682 that the Hon'ble the East India Company recommended the Government of the Fort Saint George Gazette "to obtain a loan by constituting itself a Bank for the receipt of fixed deposits." Hence Governor Gyfford promptly resolved "to raise a bank of money to the value of One Hundred Thousand Pounds at six per cent. rate of interest (12). Thus it becomes apparent that in order to augment the territorial revenues of Madras the plan of starting the Government Bank on the model of the Loundon Goldsmith's banks was mooted by the Hon'ble the East India Company. It is not clear whether it issued notes also but there is no doubt that it acted as a bank of deposit and discount (13).

Chronologically viewed the next attempt at founding an organised Bank was made in Bombay. This time again it was the Government that pioneered the way. The following extract from the Bombay Government Diaries clearly proves that a Bank existed in Bombay prior to the starting of the semi-Government or what is properly termed as the Presidency Bank of Bombay in 1840. From a perusal of the Consultations of 20th June, 1720 we find that a Bank was to be organised as this suggestion was approved by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. Messrs. Brown and Phillips members of the Bombay Council were appointed to devise a scheme for the regular carrying on of the banking business. The increase of revenue was the object of the Council and like the impecunios Government of Madras which did banking business in 1683 in order to augment its revenues one of the objects of the Bombay Government was to increase the revenues by undertaking banking business. The scheme was duly prepared by Messrs. Brown and Phillips and placed before the Council for approval on 25th July, 1720. The "black merchants" were also taken into confidence and the schme was sanctioned at the same sitting of the Council. The managers of the Bank were to receive one per cent. of the profits for their trouble. The Bank commenced its operations and until 1724 no remuneration was actually paid to the Assistant of the Bank when it was resolved to award a gratuity of £50 per annum.

From a perusal of the Consultations of the Bombay Council for the year 1727-1728 dated 1st March, 1727 we find that the Bank was conducting business at that time in Bombay for the two petitions read before the Council from the Mayor's Court clearly suggest that the "two thousand Rupees the amount of fine now standing upon the books to be appropriated

(12) See P. C. Vol. III, 21st June, 1683.

(13) See Mrs. Penny "History of the Fort Saint George," Prof. Dodwell holds a contrary view and does not consider it as a Bank but only thinks that the word "bank" was used in the literal Dictionary sense of the term and that its banking operations cannot be traced in full. See his Report on the Records of the Madras Government, p. 85.

towards a new person be taken out of the Treasury and employed in the Banks at interest or entrusted in the hands of said Court for answering the most necessary occasion of the said Court."

The very great scarcity of specie in 1770 in the Island of Bombay led the Government to discover some means by which the Currency situation would be eased to any appreciable extent. One Mr. Taylor a member of the Council proposed the issuing of bills from the Bank on loans upon the present security. "It was resolved that this plea should be put into execution and that notes be immediately prepared to the amount of debt due from the Treasury to the Bank being with interest about Rs. 80,000. The notes to be from forty to one thousand Rs. each signed by the manager of the bank and sealed with the Hon'ble Company's seal."

This original plan was greatly improved by an officer of the Bank of England Mr. Robert Blackford and his final draft of the proposal was to make the Bank a bank of deposit and issue. The bank was to be privileged to issue notes up to 8 lakhs of Rs. only. The Treasury should in the beginning assist the bank with one-third of eight lakhs of Rs. in specie and notes up to this amount should be retained by the Treasury to be returned when specie is repaid. Persons who borrow money from the Bank should undertake to encourage the circulation of the notes which were to carry interest payable only after the expiry of ten days. The form of notes was to be exactly similar to the notes of the Bank of England. So as to protect the gentlemen of the Council who are to manage the Bank the form of the note was to be signed in the following manner—

"For the Court of Directors of the United East India Company"—thus making the East India Company alone liable for the notes. The first notes of the Bank were to be of the following denominations for each lakh of Rs.

| | | | | | | |
|--------|----|------------|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Rs. 10 | of | 1,000 each | ... | ... | ... | Rs. 10,000 |
| „ 24 | of | 500 „ | ... | ... | ... | „ 12,000 |
| „ 24 | of | 300 „ | ... | ... | ... | „ 7,200 |
| „ 100 | of | 200 „ | ... | ... | ... | „ 20,000 |
| „ 200 | of | 100 „ | ... | ... | ... | „ 20,000 |
| „ 400 | of | 50 „ | ... | ... | ... | „ 20,000 |
| „ 540 | of | 20 „ | ... | ... | ... | „ 10,800 |
| TOTAL | | | | | | „ 100,000 |

(14) This plan should be compared with the scheme of Warren Hastings to issue notes in Bengal in 1780 against the deposit of Sicca Rs. 30 lakhs lying in the Treasury in the New Fort William. He adopts the same form as this so as to exonerate the officials from all liabilities with reference

(14) See R. D. Richards, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol., XLI, p. 399.

to notes issued under their signature. This plan was not however carried out as the notes issued by an impecunious Government could hardly have circulated. The similarity between the two plans is striking and Warren Hastings' plan must have borrowed from a perusal of the plans of the Bombay Government.

It has already been related that an officer of the Bank of England was requisitioned for improving the original plan of the Bank determined by the Bombay Council. The first notes of the Bank of England were issued exactly in a similar manner. A specimen of the 1699 Note of the Bank of England is appended to enable the readers to note the points of similarity in the matter of note-issuing.

27 April,
J. V.

I promised to pay to Mr. Daniel Denny or Bearer on demand the Summe of One Hundred and fifty pounds eight shillings and eight pence—
London the 24th day of January, 1699—.

For the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.

JOHN (WASE).

It was understood that as time and experience alone would enable it to find what denomination of notes are in great demand. The portion of the notes for which there were to be no demand was to be destroyed and replaced to that amount by those which appear to be most in demand. Thus it clearly proves that no bank notes circulated prior to this date in Bombay or else previous experience would have been drawn upon in the determination of the denominations of the notes. Another significant fact that has to be noted is the round figure for which the notes were to be issued. When compared with the first specimen notes of the Bank of England it would be noticed that they were for broken denominations including shillings and pence even. At any rate the Bombay Bank's note was to be an improvement on this old form of the note of the Bank of England.

As only eight lakhs worth of notes were to be issued it was wisely resolved that no person was to be lent more than Rs. 8,000 at any one time and the Bank should consider any second application for notes on its own merits. This shows that the Bombay Council seems to have dimly perceived the principles of sound banking viz., that all eggs were not to be placed in the same basket and that the Bank should distribute its capital in the hands of all deserving applicants and that credit should be created without any bias—be it communal, religious or political.

It was also determined to attract current accounts and pay a deposit rate on interest viz., five per cent.

The Bank must have conducted business for some years for we find it recorded in July 1778 "the debt from the Treasury due to the Bank amounted to a very large sum" and it was swelled to a large extent by the annual interest payable thereon. The Council felt great anxiety on this score and wrote to the Hon'ble Court of Directors to

give it specific instructions "whether to fix it at a certain sum or to write it off altogether and establish a new bank whenever the state of our finances will permit."

This Bank might not also have issued large amount of notes for latter-day (15) writers have often mentioned that previous to the foundation of the Presidency Bank of Bombay in 1840 "paper money was almost unknown in mercantile transactions of Bombay" as at Calcutta and Madras.

Passing on to the territory of Madras we notice that Lord Macartaney also strove to raise a Bank of money meaning thereby a "Public Treasure" in connection with the settlement of the Nawab's and the Tanjore debts. His plan was that the Bank should keep one third of its funds in specie and lend two-thirds on good bills or valuable pledges at six per cent. He opined however that this would convert Madras into "a shop of pitiful usury instead of a city of honourable commerce" (16).

The present knowledge of the writers on the Carnatic Bank—a banking institution of this period is confined only to the single paragraph written by C. N. Cooke. He refers to the Carnatic Bank in the following language. "This is the name of a Bank which was in existence at the Madras Presidency in 1791. At present we are without knowledge of the proprietary body and other particulars" (17).

All the latter writers including Symes Scutt repeat the same information and have nothing to add (18). Even in the Book on the early European Banks no mention is made of the Carnatic Bank which undoubtedly must be considered as one of the earliest of the European Banks conducting business in this country. It is indeed a wonder why these writers did not refer to any published records on the Madras Presidency dealing with the history of the Province in the last years of the eighteenth Century. It is an unpardonable error to style a book as dealing with the early European Banks while only the European Banks in Calcutta are taken into account. A large number of banks doing business in other provinces are not even mentioned. There is no description of this Bank's work in the Madras Presidency in the recently published work of Dr. Banerjee on "Indian Finance in the days of John Company" (19).

(15) See J. MacGregor, *Commercial Tariffs*, Part XXIII, p. 661. See also the pamphlet, "The late Government Bank of Bombay," 1868. This does not however mention any details as regards the note-issue of the Bank of Bombay (1840-1868). It is in reality a history of the Bank of Bombay from 1863 to 1868. Something more can be actually written from a thorough study of the evidence of the witnesses before the Sir C. Jackson Committee. See also C. N. Cooke, *Banking in India*, p. 175. See also Symes Scutt—*History of the Bank of Bengal*.

(16) See the *Military Consultations*, 17th April, 1782, p. 1064. Quoted by H. Dodwell in the *Records of Madras*.

(17) See C. N. Cooke, *Banking in India*, p. 392.

(18) Symes Scutt, *History of the Bank of Bengal*.

(19) Dr. Banerjee says, "In the Madras Presidency an institution bearing the name of the Carnatic Bank existed in 1791, but very little is known about its activities." See his article on Banking in the *Days of John Company*. November, *Calcutta Review*, p. 137. Nothing further is stated in the bigger book of his dealing with the finances of this country in the days of John Company.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARNATIC BANK.

A scrutiny of the State Records of 1788 has enabled the industrious writer Mr. H. D. Love to point out that this was the first joint-stock bank in Madras founded under the title of the Carnatic Bank during the tenure of the Governorship of Sir Archibald Campbell (20). The founders of the Carnatic Bank were Josias Du Pre Porcher of Fort Sarint George and Thomas Redhead of Calcutta, John Balfour, John Chamier, Edward Raphael, Thomas Cockburn, Benjamin Torn and N. E. Kendersley who was a member of the Board of Trade also. The object was to receive money, issue bills and notes and discount bills and notes and other securities "after the manner of the most respectable bank in London." Its capital was 120,000 Star Pagodas divided into eight shares held by the above-mentioned founders. Power was taken to appoint a cashier, clerks, servants and to issue notes to the value of three times the capital and the Bank began issuing its notes in 1788 (21).

On 22nd December, 1790 we find the Carnatic Bank issuing a notice in the Fort Saint George Gazette that no business will be transacted at the Bank either on Xmas or New Year Day. Mr. John Hunter who subsequently became the director of the British Bank was the then Cashier who signed the notification. Evidently in the absence of a negotiable Instruments Act fixing the number of Banks Holidays the banks had to issue general notifications indicating the bank holidays. A similar list of bank holidays at the Bank of Bengal was published by the latter institution in 1837. The list was the same as that allowed by the Moffusil Courts of the East India Company in the Province of Bengal, or the Treasury and the Sudder Dewany Adawlut (22).

The List of Holidays.

| CHRISTIAN. | HINDOO. | | MAHOMADAN. |
|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| N. Year's Day. | Mucker Sankratri. | Ratee Poormean. | Shubrath. |
| Good Friday. | Sree Punchamy. | Jumoo Ostami. | Eed. |
| Xmas. | Secboo Ratree. | Oononto Brotto. | Buckred. |
| Sundays. | Dole Jatra. | Mahalaym. | Muharam. |
| | Barome. | Durga Pujah. | Akharee Chursunk. |
| | Sree Ram Navami. | Kalee Pujah. | Bawray Bulla. |
| | Churuk Pujah. | Bharata Dotna. | |
| | Dhuserah. | Ross Jatrah. | |
| | Seenain Jatrah. | Kartie Pujah. | |
| | Ruth Jatrah. | Juggadhatri Pujah. | |
| | Ooltah Ruth Jatrah. | Deotan. | |

The closing of the Bank of Bengal at 2 p.m. on Saturdays, commenced from 1863. See Symes Scutt. History of the Bank of Bengal, p. 67.

(20) See P. Miss, Vol., II, 11th August, 1791, for greater details.

(21) See P. C. Vol., C. L. 11th August, 1788, for greater details which are not however of great importance.

(22) See the *Asiatic Journal*, July 1838, p. 151, January, 1838, p. 7.

Messrs. Porcher and Redhead were the original proprietors of the scheme and were also the directors of the Bank of Hindostan doing business at Calcutta. They not only gradually (23) secured the shares which the other proprietors wished to dispose of but Porcher was appointed as a permanent director and two other directors were chosen to help him. Thus he can be considered as the first managing director of an Indian Bank. This system still persists in this country in spite of its apparent defects.

It was at the suggestion of Mr. Porcher that the Carnatic Bank approached the Madras Government with the request to support it in its endeavour to give the rupee a more easy and extensive currency at the established rate of exchange. Its letter says that " hitherto we have been able to receive that coin at the bank but if the Government will be pleased to authorise the receipt of our notes at the Treasury to any limited extent they think proper we will make arrangements for the receipt of rupees and issue notes accordingly. There cannot be any risk out of this step (l. E.) granting this indulgence to say one lac fifty thousand pagodas and the great object of fixing the currency of this rupee will be considerably forwarded by it and a great convenience would naturally result both to the Government and individual who find it difficult to receive or pay away a large sum than one lac of rupees in course of the morning and the shroffing of which the expense is considerable will be saved to individuals " (24).

But the Madras Government refused to grant any concessions and this must have been the result of the Court of Directors' order dated 10th January, 1787, enjoining on the local authorities in India not to have any dealings with private banks nor encourage them in any way (25). The Court of Directors also held the opinion that the Agency Houses and the indigenous bankers were better fitted to meet the banking needs of the

(23) In 1791 Balfour and Raphael sold their shares to John De Rries Junior and Porcher and Redhead respectively.

(24) This letter to the Government from which the above extract is taken was signed by the following directors of the Bank, Jos Du Pre Porcher, Thomas Cockburn, John D'ries Junior, Jos DuPre Porcher for J. Chamier and Thomas Redhead Esq., Porcher Redhead for J. Chamier and Thomas Redhead Esq., Porcher Redhead & Co., for Messrs. Torn and Kindersley. For the copy of the original letter, see P. C. Vol., CLXX, 8th July, 1791.

(25) This order was not directly carried out by the Bengal Government which actually decided to loan five lakhs of sicca Rs. to the Bengal Bank and one and half lakhs of sicca Rs. to the Hindostan Bank in 1791 on the deposit of Company's paper to the amount required (25 per cent. in addition thereto in the case of the Bengal Bank was also insisted upon). The Bengal Bank could not take advantage of this liberal offer. The Hindostan Bank paid off the loan within the stipulated period of two months and soon regained its position in the money market. References to this bank can be met with in 1799 as well as 1807. The Bank of Hindustan acted as the Agent of the Calcutta Exchange Lottery and sold its tickets in 1799. (See Symes Scott-History of the Bank of Bengal). Again in 1807 we find the Government of Bengal making use of this Bank for inviting tenders for constructing a mausoleum over the grave of Lord Cornwallis at Ghazipore.

The Bengal Government easily justified its help on the ground that if the Banks were to fail the value of Government paper would be adversely affected, that Government contractors would fail and the faith of the holders of the Government securities would be easily shaken and undesirable political complications might result out of this step.

community than the European banks. In the then circumstances of the Indian society the utility of banking institutions was doubtful. Hence it forbade any connection whatsoever with the private bankers. As a result of such explicit instructions the Madras Government refused to employ the agency of the private bank in money negotiations and encourage it in its attempts to extend the popularity of the rupee though reciprocal convenience could have resulted out of this step.

The Carnatic Bank however continued its business and in 1798 it was appointed along with the British Bank to receive the deposit of lottery money. When it ceased to exist is difficult to ascertain for the chroniclers of this period have failed to provide us with any authentic record. Evidently it might have failed immediately after 1808 when Lord William Bentinck's Government Bank started its business in right earnest. The actual rivalry of the three existing banks the Carnatic Bank, the British Bank and the Asiatic Bank led to the necessity of creating a trustworthy bank.

The British Bank mentioned in the above para was a contemporary institution conducting business in Madras at about this time. No writer on banking has even mentioned the name of this bank. The directors of the British Bank were George Westcott, Thomas Lorimer, Robert Woolf, Francis Lantone and John Hunter. The last-named individual acted as the cashier of the Carnatic Bank and we find that it was in existence by 1795. In 1798 it was appointed along with the Carnatic Bank to receive the deposit of lottery money. Another mention of the British Bank can be traced in the Government records when the value of its building was estimated at about 7,500 star pagodas. There was also in existence another bank known as the Asiatic Bank conducting business in 1805. The keen rivalry which existed among the three banks made the general public dissatisfied with their business and Lord William Bentinck organised his plan of the Government Bank in those days when private credit failed to create the needed banking machinery.

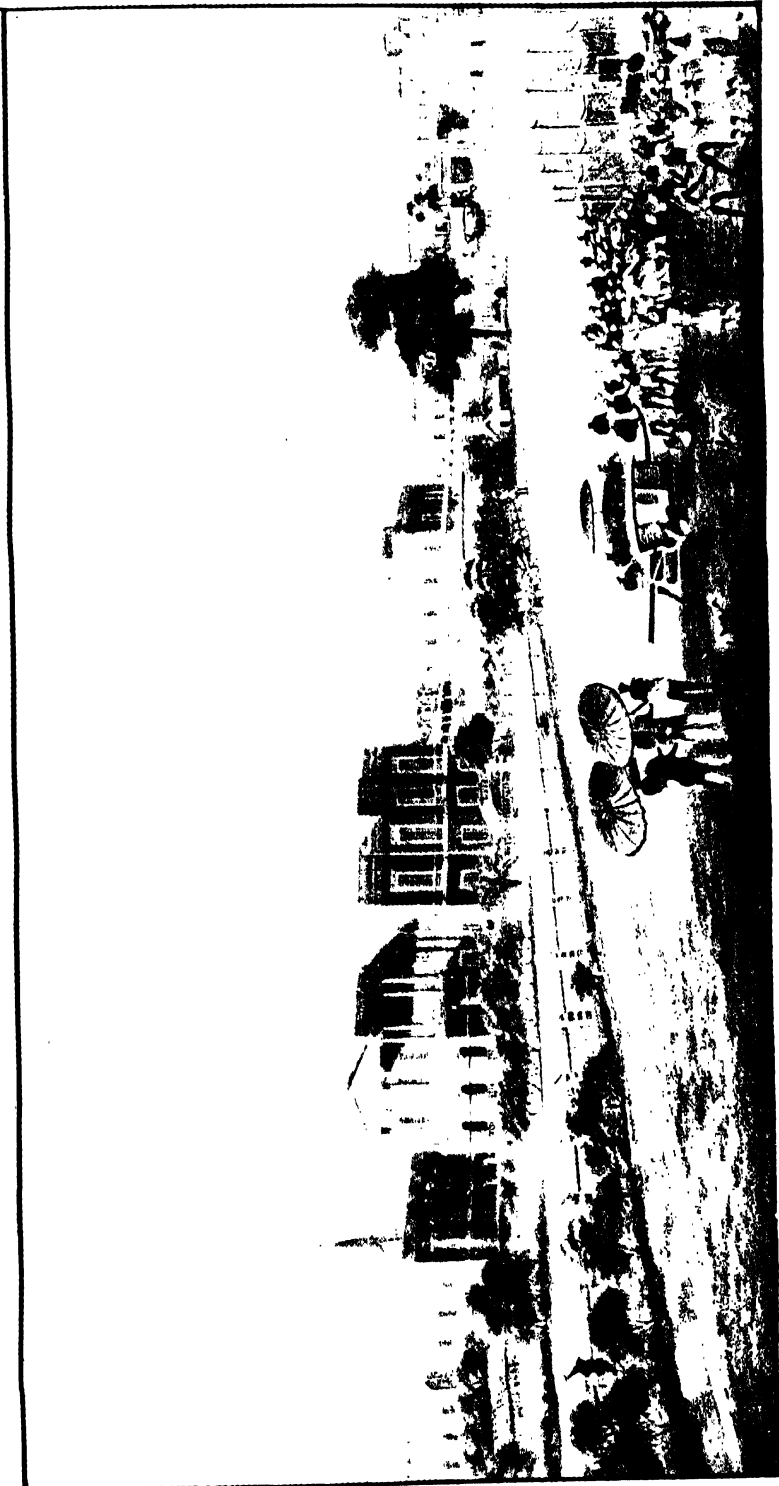
B. RAMCHANDRA RAU.

(To be Continued.)

The Editor's Note Book.

THE opening of King George's Dock by His Excellency Lord Irwin on December 28, 1928, is an event which demands commemoration in these chronicle of *Bengal: Past and Present*. Apart from the importance of the work itself, it foreshadows the ultimate disappearance of the jetties which lie along the Strand Road, and the removal of the entire commercial activity of the Port of Calcutta to Kidderpore and Garden Reach. There are some changes in Calcutta such as the transformation of Chowringhee and Park Street, which the lover of the past may regret: but this is one which he can surely approve, for it will provide the magnificent river front which is Calcutta's due. It is true that it has entailed the extinction of Garden Reach as a residential area; but this process began seventy years ago, when the Ex-King of Oudh established himself on the river front, and the memories are almost dead of the days when a succession of garden houses met the eye as the vessel approached her moorings off Chandpal Ghat. An additional enterprise is, we understand, in contemplation by which in the course of a few years passengers by sea will disembark at Diamond Harbour and find there a great railway terminus, from which trains will carry them to every part of India. They will miss the view of Calcutta which has been a theme upon which every visitor for the last hundred years has exhausted his vocabulary of appreciative epithets. But the Port of Calcutta like that of London, must move with the times; and exactly the same arrangements are being made at Tilbury for the homeward bound. Some idea of the magnitude of the operations involved in the new Dock may be gathered from the fact that it marks the completion of a scheme which covers nearly four square miles of land and which may fairly claim to equal any dock engineering work in the world, while it certainly excels in the difficulty of its accomplishment.

THE "View at the Back of Government House," which we reproduce on the opposite page, is taken from a water-colour sketch by James Hunter in the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The Government House in question is not, of course, the present building. It was a house on the Esplanade, on the site of the compound of the present Government House, and was also known as Buckingham House. Warren Hastings used it as his official residence: and it is the house mentioned in the advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 6, 1787, with regard to a bureau which was "about the time of Mr. Hastings' departure from Bengal either stolen from his house on the Esplanade or by mistake sold at the auction of his effects."



VIEW AT BACK OF GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 1861.

JAMES HOSKING.

From the Water colour in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.
(Photographed by Mr. Harrington.)

The ground plan, says Lord Curzon ("British Government in India," Vol. I, p. 13), shows that the building covered three sides of a quadrangle. Its external appearance was that of a large two-storeyed mansion, with an arched verandah on the ground floor to the south, and a closed verandah above. From either side two long one-storeyed wings projected towards the Esplanade: these enclosed between them a courtyard of fair size which was shut off from the Maidan by a low wall with pillars and railings upon it and pierced by two tall pillared gateways. This description tallies with the view of "Old Government House" which forms part of Thomas Daniell's Twelve Views of Calcutta, (1786-88): and also with the view by William Baillie (1794). In the latter is included the Council House, which adjoined on the west. Between the two houses was a garden thickly planted with trees.

THE date 1801 which appears on Hunter's sketch cannot be correct; for Buckingham House was pulled down in 1798 to make way for Wellesley's palatial structure. Unless the lion in the cage, which dominates the foreground, attained a patriarchal age, the period must be between 1785 and 1790. For, on December 8, 1780, we find Hastings writing to his wife who was then staying at Chinsurah: "I have migrated to my own house," by which he means Buckingham House, "but the Lyon roars so noisily that suspecting that he might disturb my Rest, I have returned to *our* Bed for the Night," that is to say, he had gone over to Mrs. Hastings' house, now known as No. 7, Hastings Street. The "Lyon," says Sydney Grier, had been brought down in August from the upper provinces by Samuel Touchet: and there is another reference to it in the postscript to a letter written by Hastings on August 17, 1780, to his wife at Chinsurah: "Did I tell you that I had a letter from Scott who mentions passing young Touchet, my Lion, and Zebra, all in perfect Health." Scott who was afterwards better known as Major John Scott Waring, had been acting as aide-de-camp to Hastings and was on his way back to rejoin his battalion of Sepoys at Chunar. Samuel Touchet and his elder brother Peter were the brothers of Mrs. Hastings' friend, Mrs. Motte. William Hickey records (Vol. II, p. 248) that when he was in London in the summer of 1780, he met at the house of Mrs. Touchet, the mother, "two fine lads, Westminster, named Imhoff, being sons of Mrs. Hastings by her former husband." The lion was probably a present to the Governor-General from the menagerie of the Nawab of Oudh. James Augustus Hicky alludes to "the Lyon in the G—'s compound at Buckingham House" in one of his paragraphs in the *Bengal Gazette* during the same year.

HERE was no ceremonial laying of the foundation stone of the present Government House, owing to the departure of Lord Wellesley for

The Present Government House. Madras in connexion with the Mysore campaign. But the first brick was laid on February 5, 1799, by "one of the supervisors," Mr. Timothy Hickey, of the Engineer Department. An official breakfast was given in the building on August 9, 1802, when the Governor-General "entertained in the New Government House" Major General David Baird, whom he had sent to the Red Sea in command of a force to take part in the campaign against Napoleon in Egypt. A levee was also held on September 22 in the same year to celebrate the Proclamation of Peace with the French Republic. But it was not until January 18, 1803, that the House was reported to be complete; and a State procession to St. John's Church took place on the next day, in honour of the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens. This was followed a week later by a great Fête, of which a full account is given by Lord Valentia in his Travels.

MAJOR HODSON sends us a curious extract from the *Friend of India*, the forerunner of the *Statesman*, which is quoted in *Allen's Indian Mail* for October 17, 1854. "Warren Hastings is now a historical character, yet there is a lady alive who saw him after his duel with Francis, and the grandson of his second wife has just died at Kurrachee." The allusion to Mrs. Hannah Ellerton, who died in Calcutta on January 21, 1858, need not detain us: her history has already been discussed in these notes. But it is not so easy to unravel the mystery of Mrs. Hastings' grandson. *The Sind Kossid*, which announces his death is reported to have described him as "a hopeless vagabond 'who' wandered all over the north-west and at last died at Kurrachee where his father's will came into the possession of Captain Ashburner." The "father" must have been Julius Imhoff, the younger of Mrs. Hastings' sons, who obtained a Bengal writership in 1790, through the influence of his step-father and died, when Collector of Midnapore, at Calcutta on September 23, 1799. It is known that he left three illegitimate sons. Charles was drowned with his nurse in a well at his father's house in Alipore in 1802: and William died in 1824 or 1825, before the arrival of the letters of legitimation which were applied for in order to regularize the succession to Julius Imhoff's property. There remains John, who is stated to have been "of very dark complexion:" but Miss Gregg, ("Sydney Grier") in her letters of Warren Hastings to His wife (p. 42) states that he married Maria Chambers in 1826 and was murdered in his father's house at Alipore, leaving no issue. Miss Gregg adds that Julius Imhoff and his three sons are buried in a vault between Hastings House and the Judges Court. Mr. J. J. Cotton, writing on the same subject in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, p. 16) puts the date of John Fitz-Julius Imhoff's death between the years 1848 and 1854, which tallies with our quotation: but makes no mention of the murder. We cannot carry the matter further.

IN a letter of October 3, 1799 from John White which George Nesbitt Thompson sent on to Warren Hastings on April 23, 1800, and which was printed in Vol. VIII of *Bengal: Past and Present* (p. 25), the following account is given of the death of Julius Imhoff:

The Death of
Julius Imhoff.

It grieves me to inform you of the death of poor Julius Imhoff during the past week. He was a worthy honest fellow, greatly esteemed, and is greatly regretted. He has fallen a sacrifice to his sense of duty, in remaining at Midnapore where his active and zealous services were conspicuously employed in quelling insurrections and quieting a long neglected district when his own personal suffering from long and severe indisposition required change of situation altogether. His illness commenced in January last when he was in the employment of Collector, and as he had no assistant to leave in charge of his office, he continued to carry on the duties thereof. In April the inactivity and negligence of the Magistrate, [Robert] Gregory, induced Government to recall him, and as Imhoff's conduct was of different, nay opposite, stamp, he was appointed to act judicially, and magisterially, which in spite of ill-health and in defiance of foreboded consequences, he persevered in till he was ultimately compelled to quit the place. Alas! it was then too late. The most experienced medical men pronounced so when they saw him and a few days verified their declarations.

White was a writer of 1778 and was at the time second judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at the Presidency. He had endeavoured in vain to hold sessions at Midnapore in March 1799, owing to the disturbed condition of the district.

ON April 14, 1797, Joseph Farington noted in his Diary that "Mr. Hastings gave 1,000 guineas to Kettle for a picture of a Nabob which was sold at Christie's on Monday for 7 guineas." Warren Hastings' Pictures. Who was the Nabob? A clue may, we think, be found in a letter written by Hastings from Daylesford on April 16, 1797, to Richard Johnson, the banker-nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds, immediately after the sale of various pictures at his house at 1, Park Lane. "Few things," wrote Hastings, "have given me so much vexation as the disgraceful sale of my pictures; I would rather have burnt them." He was "particularly vexed at the mean price at which the portrait of Shuja-ud-daula was sold, because I never intended to part with it and do not know how it came to be joined with the rest." It was evidently a large picture, as he had it in mind to "cut it down to kitcat;" and it is equally clear that he attached special value to it, for he asks Johnson to endeavour to repurchase it for him. "The rest," of the collection included eleven Indian

views by Hodges of Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Lucknow, "Baugulpoor," the Teliagarhi pass ("Tilliagurry"), Chunar Ghur, the "Jungleterry," Rajmahal and Gwalior. These were offered separately and realized £125. One of them, a "View of Benares in 1781," was recovered for the India Office in October, 1904; and some of the others must have found their way back to Daylesford. Mr. C. E. Baring Young, the late owner of the house, who died in September 1928, informed the present writer in 1926 that, while several Indian landscapes had been sold in 1853 at the death of Sir Charles Imhoff, there were still at Daylesford two large paintings of Benares and one of "Government House as seen from Fort William." The portrait of Shuja-ud-daula was not named.

MR. J. D. MILNER, the late keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, makes mention, in his monograph on Tilly Kettle, of seven portraits painted by that artist of Shuja-ud-daula (Nawab Wazir of Oudh from 1753 to 1775) but seems to have overlooked the one which Warren Hastings undoubtedly owned. The first is in the Musée at Versailles and allusions to this and three others are to be found in the *Mémoires* of Colonel Gentil. Another was painted for Sir Robert Barker who concluded a treaty with the Nawab at Fyzabad in 1772: it was fully described in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1926 (Vol. XXXII, p. 147). There is a coloured aquatint by P. Renault (1796) of a sixth, with a Minister of State and nine sons, at the Victoria Memorial Hall: but nothing is known of the original. The seventh is a full length (90 inches by 56 inches) at Government House, Madras. It was discovered in 1842 by Lord Elphinstone in a lumber room with two smaller pictures which have been identified as portraits of Walajah, the famous Nawab of the Carnatic, and his second son. The supposition is that all three were presented by Sir Robert Barker who served with distinction in Madras. But why should not the large canvas be the picture which Hastings intended to "cut down to kitcat?" It does not appear that he ever recovered possession."

RICHARD JOHNSON, is now remembered as the owner of the collection of Oriental paintings which are now at the India Office and which were bought by the Court of Directors in 1807. Although he was in the Company's service on the Bengal establishment and was at one time Resident at Lucknow, he was also engaged in private business at Calcutta. The announcement is made in the *India Gazette* of September 19, 1785 that "Messrs. Charles Croftes and Richard Johnson having determined upon closing their joint concerns and dissolving the firm of Croftes and Johnson on the 1st day of October next ensuing, they deem it necessary to give his publick notice thereof: " and " they further give

Richard Johnson.

notice that on the day abovementioned the House upon the Esplanade, their joint property, hitherto occupied by them, will be sold at Publick Outcry." Johnson subsequently sat in the House of Commons: for the *Bombay Courier* of August 23, 1794, reports that "Colonel Mark Wood, late of Bengal, has been elected member of Parliament for Milborne Port, in the room of R. Johnson, Esqr., who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds." He had on his return to England joined the London and Middlesex Bank which had its offices in Stratford Place, Oxford Street. The establishment of the Bank is recorded in the *Madras Courier* of May 2, 1793, the partners being Gerard Noel Edwards, M.P., Samuel Smith, M.P., George Templer, M.P., Nathaniel Middleton (the "Memory Middleton" of the Hastings' trial), John Wedgwood, and Johnson. Hastings banked with them; and there are a number of letters from him to Johnson in the Hastings MSS. at the British Museum. Johnson's name disappears from the firm in 1807: and the *Gentleman's Magazine* announces his death at Brighthelmstone (Brighton) on August 19 of that year. He had fallen into financial difficulties in which he involved at least one of his partners—Templer.

MR. RAMSBOTHAM, in the account of Colonel John Macdonald's proposals for the establishment of an improved system of telegraphic communication which appeared in the last issue (Vol. XXXVII, p. 59) refers to the opposition which Col. Macdonald encountered from Mr. Joseph Cotton who was a member of the Court of Directors from 1795 to 1823. There is an interesting allusion to Mr. Cotton in one of Warren Hastings' letters to Edward Babar (*Notes and Queries*, January 28, 1928, at p. 55). Hastings writes from Daylesford House on October 6, 1808; to inform Baber of the approaching visit of George Vansittart and his wife and children;

They made us a short visit last month, in which I was much gratified to find that Mrs. Van's bodily debility had detracted nothing from her mental faculties, and least of all from her powers of social entertainment. A wonderful instance she afforded me of her strength of retentive memory by repeating to me a poem of Dr. Cotton's consisting of 130 lines, with very few pauses of recollection, and she afterwards had the goodness to write them out for me. The occasion was what could not have been expected. I had been telling her of my having lately at a public dinner sat next to Mr. Cotton, the Director, and found him a man whose acquaintance I should like to cultivate. She told me that he was the son of Dr. Cotton whom she had known: and this led to the repetition of that poem for which it was impossible for her to have been prepared.

Dr. Nathaniel Cotton (1707-1788) kept a private mental hospital at St. Albans where the poet Cowper was his patient. His volume of *Visions*

in Verse enjoyed much contemporary popularity and was repeatedly printed: and he also wrote some poems in Dodsley's collection and a treatise on epidemic scarlet fever. Joseph Cotton (1745-1825) who was his sixth son, entered the Marine Service of the East India Company from the Royal Navy in 1769, and commanded the *Royal Charlotte* Indiaman from 1776 to 1782.

STUDENTS of Hickey's Memoirs will remember the allusions in the first volume to John Durand, the owner of the *Plassey* Indiaman. We are told that he had made a fortune in India "in the country trade;" a statement which seems to identify him with the "country captain" of the same name whose affairs form the subject of a letter sent by the Directors in March 1757 to the Council at Fort William. Holwell had proposed to give Durand twenty-four hours' notice to leave for England "although he had large business concerns in Bengal," and the Directors write:

A Troublesome
"Country Cap-
tain."

We cannot aviod taking notice of the insolent behaviour of Captain Durand as tending to such a contempt of our authority as ought never to be borne. Your denying him therefore the Company's protection was a very proper measure more especially as we know of no license he has ever had to reside in any place in India. . . . If Captain Durand continues to misbehave you have our direction for sending him to England immediately, as you are likewise any other person or persons who shall be guilty of any kind of insolent behaviour and contempt of our authority.

Similar directions were given in the case of Dumbleton, an attorney, who was, as it happens, one of the victims of the Black Hole tragedy in June 1757. Another case, which is discussed in the Bengal Consultations of January 6, 1758, was that of one Douglas: and in December 1759, the Council deal with a pilot of the name of Towle: "being of a troublesome refractory behaviour we ordered him to return to Europe by one of the first ships of the season." The later career of Durand shows that he made his peace with the Directors. He not only became a "ship's husband" on a large scale and supplied many Indiamen on charter; but he sat in the House of Commons as member for Seaford from 1780 to 1784, and held East India stock to the value of £8,000.

SIR HENRY RUSSELL has many claims to remembrance in Calcutta. He has given his name to Russell Street: he was the uncle of Rose Aylmer who died at his house in that Street; and he was the friend and patron of William Hickey who alludes frequently to him in his Memoirs. But he was also the only Chief Justice of Bengal after whom a ship built at Calcutta was called.

The "Russell"
and its Godfather.

On Tuesday last (January 17, 1809), a magnificent merchant vessel named the *Russell*, of 990 tons burthen was launched from Mr.

Smith's dockyard amid the acclamations of a multitude of spectators. The Lord Chief Justice honoured the ceremony with his presence and performed the office of naming the ship. A large portion of the Company afterwards partook of a cold collation in the Builder's principal store-room; where various healths were drank in honour of the occasion, accompanied by appropriate tunes from a large and excellent band.

Such is the record preserved in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*. Sir Henry Russell evidently appreciated the compliment which had been paid to him; for on Friday, March 3, he gave "an entertainment on board the new ship *Russell*," and was received with a salute of 17 guns on his arrival about the hour of 2 p.m. The *Russell* made her maiden voyage to Canton, and sailed with a number of other ships, under convoy of H. M. S. *Victor* on May 7.

IN the same volume of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* (March, 1809, at p. 342) we have come across an "amusing specimen of the sumptuary regulations of Government in the time of Mr. Verelst." "Primitive Manners." It is "so much in favour of the simplicity of primitive manners in India, and holds out so useful a lesson to modern times" that, writes the editor, "we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of introducing it to the acquaintance of our readers." These are assured that "we have seen the original and have no doubt of its authenticity." The document is as follows:

To all the Gentlemen Writers in the Company's Service.

Gentlemen,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the President and Council to acquaint you that the undermentioned extracts from the proceedings of the Committee of Inspection are entirely approved by them and that they expect an implicit obedience to be paid to the Directions therein contained.

Fort William, the 9th Nov. 1767.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Most Obedient Servant,
SIMEON DROZ, *Secretary*.

- 1st. With respect to the Servants necessary to be kept by a Writer without a Family, the Committee are of opinion that they should be allowed two, and a Cook; one for the immediate care of His House and charge of his effects, and another to attend him when he goes out, or to assist in the charge of his House and effects in case of the sickness of the other.
- 2nd. It is recommended that an order be issued that no Writer shall be allowed to keep a Horse without the express permission of the Governor, or be permitted, either of himself or jointly with others to keep a Garden House.

3rd. It is further recommended, that the Writers be enjoined to wear no other than Plain Cloaths.

A LITTLE later on in the volume (at p. 445) we find the following General Order by the Governor-General, dated April 5, 1809, which reads as

The Walk on the River Bank.

strangely to us in 1929, as the sumptuary regulation of 1767 to the Calcutta residents of 1809:

His Lordship is pleased to direct that no persons in carriages or on Horse back be permitted to drive or ride on the walk along the Banks of the River between Chandpaul Ghaut and the Sluice Gate of Fort William, or to enter within that part of the Esplanade recently railed into the Northward of the Fort fronting the Court House.

The reference is to the path along the river bank which can be seen so plainly in the "View taken on the Esplanade" in 1792 which was published in the second series of Daniell's "Oriental Scenery." This path was planted with trees in the time of the Lottery Committee (1817-1836) and came to be known as the Respondentia walk. In a note to Sir Charles D'Oyly's poem, "Tom Raw, Griffin" (published in 1828) we read that it was "a walk from Chandpaul Ghaut to the Fort by the River's side with an avenue of trees; children and their attendants and people fond of walking are the only pedestrians." As late as 1864, a row of fine trees stood south of Baboo Ghat, but most of these were destroyed in the cyclone of that year. "The part of the Esplanade recently railed in" to the northward of the Fort, has now become the Eden Gardens; but these date from 1840 and went by the awkward name of Auckland Circus Gardens until 1854.

IN the month of May 1809 there arrived at Calcutta an interesting Lady, "a princess of New Zealand, one of the 'he daughters of Tippahee," who

A "Princess of New Zealand" and her husband in Calcutta.

was accompanied by her husband, an Englishman of the name of George Bruce. A long account of the adventures of this couple is printed in the *Mirror*, of May 10, from which it appears that Bruce who was Londoner and born

in Limchouse, entered in 1780 as a boatswain's boy on board the *Royal Admiral* Indiaman and sailed in her to New South Wales. At Port Jackson (Sydney) he left the ship and was employed in survey vessels for some years. His connexion with New Zealand began when Tippahee, King of New Zealand who had paid a visit to Port Jackson, was conveyed home in the *Lady Nelson*. The King fell ill during the voyage and Bruce was appointed to look after him; with the result that Tippahee took him into his family and recognized him as a New Zealand warrior of the first rank, but in order to obtain these honours, he was obliged to submit to a wholesale process of "tattowing." Several ships touched at the Bay of Islands for supplies, and, we are told, found Bruce acting as Governor of

what is now known as North Island. Captain Dalrymple of the ship *General Wellesley* was not content with his spectacle; he enticed him and his wife on board and carried them off to Malacca, by way of the "Feegee or Sandalwood Islands." Here Bruce was landed without his wife and it was with considerable trouble that he recovered her at Penang, with the help of the Governor. From Penang, the couple found their way to Bengal in the *Sir Edward Peller* where they "have been most hospitably received" and where opportunities of a passage to New South Wales will probably occur in the course of a few months." The countenance of Bruce, says the account in the *Mirror*, "presents a master specimen of the art of tattowing;" as for the princess, "all the softer charms of nature, all the sweetness of original and 'the native beauty' of the princess is likewise stated to be expression are lost in the bolder impressions" of the same process.

THE death on March 25 last of Mr. R. W. Lodwick, in his 99th year, has reduced the number of surviving members of the Hon'ble East India Company's Civil Servants to one. Mr. Lodwick entered the Bombay Civil Service from Haileybury in 1851, and retired on pension in 1877. His active service of 26 years was followed therefore by a period of 52 years on pension. In itself, this must constitute almost a record: but the connexion of the family with India can be dated back to 1799 when his father General Peter Lodwick of the Bombay Army, who died on August 28, 1873, at the age of ninety, joined the Company's service. The solitary survivor of the famous band of "Haileybury men" is now Mr. William McQuhae who was born on April 22, 1838, and at the moment of writing has celebrated his ninety-first birthday. He entered the Madras Civil Service in 1857, and has drawn a pension since 1879. Four of his colleagues have died since October 1927: Mr. G. F. Sheppard (Bombay), Mr. W. H. Henderson (Bengal), Sir Philip Hutchins (Madras), and Mr. Lodwick. Major-General A. H. E. Campbell, of the 2nd Madras Light Cavalry, who died on April 22, 1929, in his ninety-fourth year, might have been added to the list, for he went to Haileybury in 1853; but he exchanged his nomination as a Madras writer for a military cadetship.

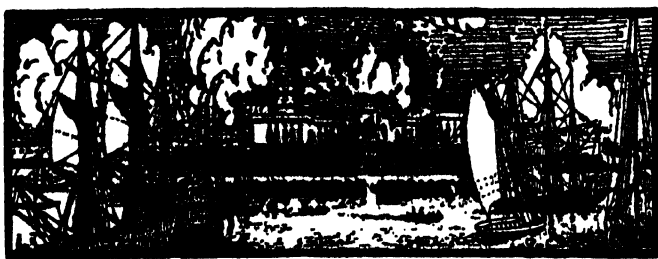
THE East India College at Haileybury was closed on December 7, 1857, after a life of just over half a century. The sister institution at Addiscombe, at which the Company's military cadets were educated, was established in 1809 and ended its career in 1861. Lieut-Col. E. H. Ryan, of the Bengal Artillery who died on February 22 at the age of ninety-one, and who went to Addiscombe in 1855, must be one of the last (if he was not actually the last) of the 3,500 cadets who received their training there. Colonel E. W. Smyth, C.B., who died on New Year's Day at the age of 85, was one of the final batch who passed out in 1861.

Addiscombe Veterans.

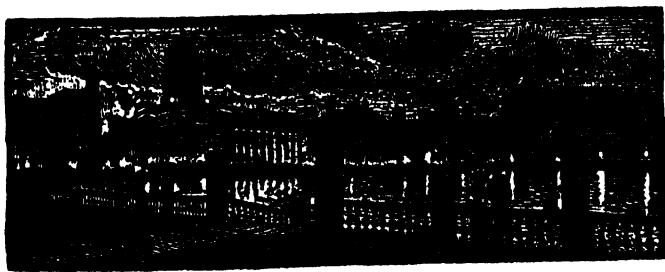
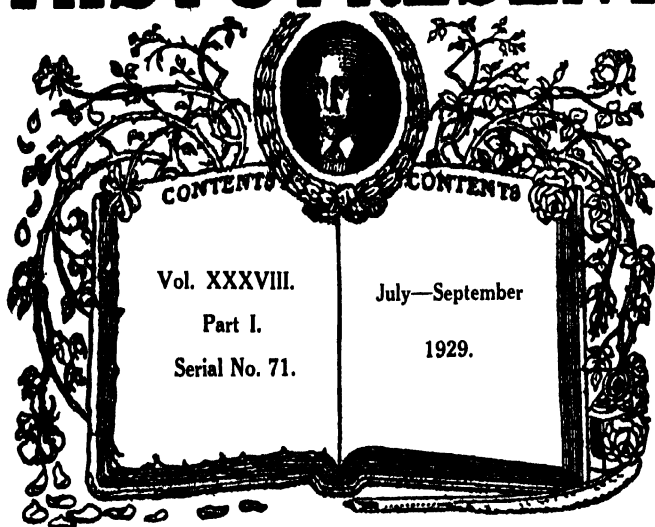
ON April 4 last, the death was recorded in *The Times* of Major F. A. Cubitt, of the 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers, at the age of ninety-four. He was one of the very few remaining survivors of the force which effected the final relief of Lucknow Residency and capture of Lucknow in November 1857. When Sir Colin Campbell evacuated the Residency and withdrew to Cawnpore with the main body, he left Sir James Outram at the Alum Bagh with a force of 3,500 men and 25 guns. Cubitt and his regiment formed part of this force, which beat off six attacks before Campbell returned in March 1858 and captured the city.

MEMORIES of another Mutiny episode. The defence of the "Little House at Arrah"—are recalled by the death on May 7 at the age of ninety-two of Lieut.-Col. Montague Battye who was a subaltern in the 10th Foot at Dinapore at that time. He was sent with a detachment of the regiment on the unsuccessful attempt to relieve the little garrison, during which Ross Mangles and Fraser MacDonell, two young members of the Civil Service, won the Victoria Cross. The relief was finally effected by Vincent Eyre.

MEMBERS of the Calcutta Historical Society will be glad to know that a tablet in memory of Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., has been placed by his friends in the Civil Service most fittingly, in the historic Church of St. Mary, in Fort Saint George. It records that, "following his father, grandfather and great-grandfather in the service of the Crown in India," he joined the Indian Civil Service at Madras in 1893 and died at that place on June 20, 1927, at the age of fifty-seven.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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I A B do sincerely promise and swear that I will be
faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty
So help me God

J. Clavering

Geo: Monson

Rich. Barwell

Frances.

Alexander Schmitt

L. Montague Sherriff

W. Johnson, Co. over

W. Wadsworth

Jan'y the 3^d 1777.

Edw. Wheeler

Mr. Richardson

1st Jan^y 1778-

Accepted
Dec 13 19

John W. Peterson

1st October 1781

Assmann's Church

Wang

Ann. 1845

Chas Stuart

R. Sloper.

Cornwallis

Shore

Ther. Heller

Note. This Oath was taken according to a Resolution of Warren Hastings

The Sheriffs of Calcutta: 1727-1929.

IN 1922 I contributed to *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 139-154) an account of the Sheriffs of Calcutta. During the year which have since elapsed, I have been in a position to revise and amplify the material then presented: and as the ancient and honourable office has celebrated its bicentenary and will shortly welcome a new occupant, the occasion appears to be appropriate for re-telling the story in a more complete and accurate form.

The present instalment will deal with the sheriffs from 1727, when the post was created, until 1781: and their names are as follows:

Thomas Braddyll (1727). First Sheriff.

James Valicourt (1752).

Thomas Coales (1753).

Appointed under the Charter of 1753.

John Cooke (1754).

Thomas Coales (1755).

William Lindsay (1756).

Stanlake Batson (1757).

William Rider (1758).

Thomas Culling Smith (1759 and 1760).

Oliver Cromwell Webb (1761).

Henry Goodwin (1762).

John Graham (1763 and 1764).

William Majendie (1765 and 1766).

John Graham (1767).

Simeon Droz (1768).

Edward Baber (1769).

Lionel Darell (1770 and 1771).

George Bright (1772 and 1773).

Charles Lloyd (1774).

Appointed under the Charter of 1774.

Alexander Mackrabie (1775).

Samuel Montaigne (1776).

Blastus Godly Wright (1777).

William Wodsworth (1777).

John Bristow (1778).

John Richardson (1778).

Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, Bart. (1779).

Alexander Van Rixtel (1780).

Herbert Harris (1781).

The earliest mention of the Sheriff of Calcutta is found in the records preserved at the India Office: and it is contained in a letter "sent per *Bridgewater* and *Walpole*: London, 17th February 1726-27" to "Our President and Council of Fort William in Bengall" by "Your Loving Friends" the Court of Directors (Henry Lyell, Chairman, and eighteen others). It is stated therein (Court Letter Book Vol. 20, p. 515):

1. Upon Application made to His Majesty. We have obtain'd His Majesty's Royal Charter for our settlements at Madraspatnam at

Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall and at Bombay in the East Indies to enable Us by virtue thereof to have Our affairs in all those Places and within the Districts therein mention'd, as also in all the Subordinate Factoryes at those Presidencys managed with greater authority than ever hitherto. We apply'd to get the Management of the Civil Affairs as near as We could agreeable to the Practice and Methods of the Mayor's Court at Fort Saint George which have continued for many Years, and as You will see in the said Charter, of which we send You by the *Bridgewater* an Exemplification under the Great Seal of this Kingdom. It begins and goes through first with all the Powers and Authoritys granted and Rules prescribed for that Place. And then proceeds to create the like Courts and give the same Rules for Our Settlements at Bombay and Fort William.

2. The said charter appoints an Annual Sheriff to be chosen to be the last of Your Council and to return all the Processes of the Court, (and nominates nine Persons to be the Court of Mayor and Aldermen and as such a Court to Try all civil causes that may happen), To bring into Court all persons complain'd of, to hold them Bail or confine them, and on being empower'd by Warrant to Seiz and Sell the Effects to make satisfaction to the several Persons who by Decree of the Court on hearing the Cause have any Summs of Money adjudg'd to be due to them. And in this the said Court have by the Charter a Power to frame Rules of Practice in the Proceedings.

* * * *

14. As the Charter directs a Sheriff to be annually elected, so it directs other officers to be chosen as well to the Court of Mayor and Aldermen as in that of Oyer and Terminer (1), but as You have a great many covenanted servants, we hope they may serve the purposes of both without appointing any other English People into them, or any of them. We would have those most fit at present, or such as are most likely to be so by time and practice, to be first put in, wherein one Person may possibly fill up two or more stations, and though the Business they are likely to be employ'd in will be but very little and seldom. Yet as they may think it hard to officiate without some Reward for their labour. Therefore we hereby direct You to appoint proper Fees according to their different employments. But be sure to take care that they be very moderate and suited to the circumstances of the People, who are

(1) The Charter gave the President and Senior Five of the Council power to "act as Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery, to hold Quarter Sessions, and to proceed to try, hear and punish, in all Criminal Cases, except only of High Treason, as Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer do in England appointing and summoning Grand and Petty Jury for the purpose."

many of them very poor and can't bear the paying of such as we may here Account but small Fees. Whereto we desire You will have a great Regard, and send us a Table of the respective Fees in all cases for Our Inspection and Judgment.

The communication duly reached Calcutta: and the action taken thereon is thus recorded in the Bengal Public consultations (Range 1, Vol. 6):—

Extract from Consultation of Monday, 28th August, 1727.

Fort William 28th August, 1727.

The Box containing the new Charter, etc., law Books come per Ship *Bridgewater* being come on shore was now open'd.

The Hon'ble Company's General letter dated 17th February 1726-27 relating to the Charter was now read a second time and very seriously consider'd in all its Paragraphs.

Whereas Mr. John Sainsbury Lloyd who is nominated in the Charter to be Mayor and several of the Aldermen named therein are absent. Pursuant to the tenour of the Charter we have appointed the following Persons to be the Mayor Sheriff and Aldermen, *viz.* :—

Charles Hampton, Esq., *Mayor.*

Mr. Thomas Braddyll, *Sheriff.*

Messrs. John Bowkett,

Thomas Coates,

Thomas Cooke,

Henry Harnett,

Robert Frankland,

James Nevile,

William Bruce,

Matthew Wesley,

Geo. Mandeville.

} *Aldermen.*

To Thomas Braddyll (who was subsequently President and Governor of Fort William from 1738 to 1745) belongs, therefore the honour of being the first Sheriff of Calcutta. His name heads a list which has been continued without interruption for two hundred years.

THE CHARTER OF 1753.

In 1753 the Charter granted in 1726 was surrendered and a new charter granted. It is at this period that we come across the earliest reference to the office of Sheriff in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta: and it is connected with the name of James Valicourt (1752):—

Public Department Consultation, dated 9th October, 1752.

Sheriff's Note for September.

James Valicourt, Esqr., Sheriff, sent in his note for the Allowance due to him and his officers for the month of Sept., which amounting to [company's] Rs. 110.

Agreed that the President do pay the same.

No other papers can be traced regarding this appointment. The immediate successor of Valicourt were Thomas Coales (1753, also a second time in 1755) John Cooke (1754) and William Lindsay (1756). In each case the authority is the consultations: and the relevant extracts are as follows:—

(1) *Public Department Consultation, dated 22nd January, 1753.*

Thomas Coales, Esq., Sheriff, now sent in his Bill for the Allowances due to him and his officers for the month of December amounting to c. Rs. 120-2-3, ordered the President do pay the sum out of the cash.

(2) *Public Department Consultation, dated 6th December, 1753.*

The Corporation now waited on the Board and acquainted them they had, as his Majesties late Charter directed, elected two of their Members (Messrs. William Nixon and Bartholomew Plaisted) to be return'd to them for their choice of one to be Sworn in to the office of Mayor.

Agreed Mr. William Nixon be sworn in to the office of Mayor on the 20th instant.

Agreed Mr. John Cooke be sworn in to the office of Sheriff on the same day.

(3) *Public Consultation, dated 5th December, 1754.*

Mr. Coales Appd. Sheriff.

Agreed Mr. Coales be appointed Sheriff.

(4) *Public Department Consultation, dated 2nd December, 1755.*

The Board thought proper to appoint Mr. Henry Kelsall to serve another year in the office of Mayor of this Town, and that Mr. William Lindsay be appointed to serve the office of Sheriff for then [sic] ensuing year.

Valicourt and Coales perished in the Black Hole, and their names appear on the memorial obelisk. Cooke is the "Secretary Cooke" who survived the tragedy and supplied the historian Robert Orme with materials. Of Lindsay we obtain a glimpse in Drake's Narrative of the Loss of Calcutta (written at Fulta on July 19, 1756). "Mr. William Lindsay, being a lame gentleman, having had the misfortune to lose his leg, was permitted on request to quit the factory" and go on board the ships. He died at Fulta. The houses of Coales and Cooke are shown in the map of Calcutta prepared by Lieutenant William Wills in 1753. Cooke lived on the site of the Royal Exchange in Clive Street, and Clive (traditionally) and Francis (certainly) lived there after him. Coales lived next to Omichand in the Lyons Range of to-day. He was "Register of Dusticks and collector of consulage:" in other words, was in charge of the Company's Customs.

The first Sheriff after the recapture of Calcutta was Stanlake Batson (1757). He it was who on June 9, 1763, gave Warren Hastings the lie at a meeting of the Council and struck him in the face. Henry Vansittart, the Governor, had protested against the claim put forward by the company's servants to exemption from transit duties in connection with their private speculations. His supporter in Council was Hastings who, together with the Governor, was charged by Batson with "acting the part of a retained solicitor of the Nabob rather than of a servant of the company or a British subject." Batson was suspended, and Vansittart and Hastings refused to sit with him even after he had apologized and been reinstated by the votes of the majority. It was therefore decided that the minutes of each Council should be submitted to them in their own houses. The scene of the assault has been identified by Lord Curzon, by means of an announcement of sale of the "old Council House," which appeared in the *India Gazette or Calcutta Public Advertiser* of March 3, 1781. It stood "next door to the old export warehouse" which was built against the south portion of the old Fort: and its location may therefore be fixed with some confidence at the junction of Koila (which should properly be Killa) Ghat Street and Bankshall Street. Batson settled upon retirement at Winkfield Place in Berkshire, where he died at the age of eighty-two on October 18, 1812, and was Sheriff of the county in 1772. He was at Cossimbazar with Hastings, during the "troubles." According to Orme, he escaped to the French Factory; but he is mentioned in the Fulda Lists as one of those who were made prisoners (2).

The name of William Rider (1758) occurs in the list of "Gentlemen in the Company's service who escaped from the disaster of 1756 in the ships to Fulda." He had arrived in Bengal in 1750 and married Anna Holwell (3) on March 31, 1759. His death in Calcutta on November 28, 1759 was due to wounds received in the attack on Chandernagore, when he was in command of an "independent company of volunteers." His widow married on July 15, 1760 Martin Yorke the young ensign who distinguished himself in the action of Chitpore of February 5, 1757, during the operations for the recapture of Calcutta.

The following extracts from the Bengal Consultations are taken from the records at the India Office. They show that while the Mayor and Aldermen presented two names to the Council in connexion with the office of Mayor, the Sheriff was nominated by the Governor and President:

[a] Fort William 18th December, 1758.

(2) In one of the old cemeteries, at Dinapore there is or was a grave inscribed with the name of Surgeon-Major Stanlake Henry Batson of the Bengal Medical Service who died on August 27, 1869, at the age of 59. He served at Delhi during the siege in 1857.

(3) Sarah Holwell who was another daughter of John Zephaniah Holwel, married William Birch: and their son, Lieut. John Zephaniah Mill Birch, of the 2nd Bengal European Battalion, was killed at the battle of Bitaurah on October 26, 1794. His name is of one of those on the Rohilla Monument in St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta. Marianne Birch, his sister, was married in 1823 to Lamartine.

At a consultation present the Hon'ble Robert Clive, Esqr., President, Wm. Watts Richd. Bechar, Esqrs., Messrs. Frankland, Holwell, Mackett, Boddam.

[In a letter of 14th December, the Register of the Corporation (Edward Ridge) presented the names of Wm. Fullerton Esqr., Mayor and Mr. David Rannie Alderman "for You to choose any of them to serve as Mayor for the ensuing year as being the most suitable method less liable to mistakes and therefore practiced for two years last past as is usual in all Presentiments."]

It being put to the vote which of the two Gentlemen serve as Mayor of this Corporation for the ensuing Year and Majority being in favour of Capt. David Rannie.

Agreed We appoint him accordingly.

The President begs leave to inform the Board his objection to Mr. Rannie's being elected Mayor is his bad opinion of the Man (4).

[b] Fort William 20th December, 1758. At a consultation present [the same].

The Members of the Mayors Court now attending to see the Person we should choose to serve as Mayor of this Corporation for the ensuing year take the usual oath, they presenting Wm. Fullerton Esqr., Mayor, Capt. David Rannie Alderman.

Agreed we elect Capt. David Rannie Mayor of this Corporation for the following year agreeable to the Resolution of the last Council, to which office he was accordingly sworn in.

Mr. Culling Smith was likewise sworn into the office of Sheriff of the town of Calcutta.

(c) Fort William, 4th December, 1760.

The Governor (the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esqr.,) acquainted the Board that he had nominated Mr. Oliver Cromwell Webb Sheriff for the year ensuing in the rooms of Culling Smith Esqr.

(d) Fort William 19th December, 1761.

At a consultation present the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esq., President, Peter Amyatt, Esq., Culling Smith Esq., Warren Hastings Esq. The Court of Aldermen appearing before Us. Mr. Hugh Baillie was sworn into the office of Mayor for the ensuing year and Mr. Henry Goodwin into that of Sheriff.

(e) Fort William 20th December, 1762.

Peter Amyatt Esq., in the Chair.

The President acquainted the Board that he had nominated Mr. John Graham to be Sheriff for the year ensuing. The Oaths were therefore tendered him at the Board to qualify him for so doing.

(4) David Rannie, according to Orme, was commodore of the second expedition against Tannah Fort. He was one of those who took refuge at Fulta after the capture of Calcutta: and appears to have been a "country captain" or commander of coasting vessels. Orme obtained from him in 1756 a letter on the "causes of the loss of Calcutta."—S. C. Hill. The reason for Clive's "bad opinion" is not disclosed.

(f) Fort William 4th December, 1766.

At a consultation present Henry Verelst Esq., President, Brig.-Gen. Carnac, Hugh Watts, Claud Russell and Thomas Kelsall, Esq.

The Mayor's Court attend the Board and present two of the Members of their Board Mr. Robert Dobinson and Mr. Thomas Woodward of [sic]. Our election of one of them to be the Mayor of this Corporation for the ensuing year: when the latter was accordingly chosen: And on Tuesday the 2nd instant Mr. [John] Graham pursuant to a clause in the Charter was nominated to be Sheriff, and both took the Oaths of Office and Allegiance.

Thomas Culling Smith who was Sheriff in 1759 as well as in 1760 arrived in Bengal in 1749 and seems to have been assistant Vuxey at the time of the siege. His house, as shown in Will's map, was at the southern end of what is now Council House Street, and the compound ran flush with the creek which then flowed along Hastings Street. He appears to have been away from Calcutta during the siege. In December 1758 he was appointed Secretary to the Select Committee in succession to Cooke: and resigned in January 1759. A Culling Smith, who may reasonably be identified with him, was created a baronet in 1802 and died in 1812 at the age of eighty-one. He was the maternal grand-father of Mr. Hugh Culling Eardley Childers, known from his imposing presence as "Here Comes Everybody" Childers, who was Mr. Gladstone's colleague in several administrations. The third baronet took the name of Eardley, and the title became extinct on his death in 1875. Culling Smith's Christian name was derived from his mother Culling Horne who was sister and co-heir of John Horne, Governor of Bombay from 1734 to 1739. Of Oliver Cromwell Webb (1761) no particulars have been obtained. He was probably related to the Russels and the Franklands, who were descended from the daughters of the Protector.

Henry Goodwin (1762) was a writer of 1758, and was Second at Dacca in 1771. John Graham who thrice filled the office of Sheriff (1763, 1764, and 1767) came out on the *Calcutta* Indiaman in 1759. He became Secretary to the Council, and was Resident at Midnapore in 1765, Chief at Patna in 1772, Superintendent of the Khalsa in 1773, and also President of the Board of Customs. He was concerned in the trial of Nuncomar for conspiracy and died on June 20, 1776, at Port Mahon "on his way to Lisbon for the recovery of his health".

William Majendie who served the office of Sheriff in 1765 and again in 1766, was Secretary to the Council. He was among the civil servants suspended by the Board in 1766 for having addressed a petition of protest to them against the appointment by Clive to Council of four senior merchants from Fort Saint George. "The most active in the affair were Mr. Tho. French, Mr. Geo. Vansittart, Mr. Majendie, the traders and Senior Writers." He was subsequently reinstated by the Court of Directors and was Second in Council at Patna when he died there in 1769 at the age of twenty-six.

Simeon Droz (1768) was deputy secretary to the Council in September 1767 and in the following November appears as Secretary. He became

Fourth at Patna in 1772, having been appointed Secretary and Accountant to the Council of Revenue for Behar in February 1770. We find him giving evidence in the Grand-Francis suit: and he figures in the following announcement in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* in May 1780: "we are informed that the following persons of figure and consequence are arrived at Beercool for the benefit of their health and fish. . . . Simeon Droze, Esq., with his lady and son and heir." The "son and heir," Henry William Droz, who was baptized in Calcutta on February 15, 1778, followed his father in the Civil Service (writer 1794: commercial Resident at Cossimbazar, 1804) and died at Cossimbazar on November 18, 1824.

Edward Baber (1769) was a lifelong friend and supporter of Warren Hastings: and a series of letters written to him by Hastings were printed in *Notes and Queries* during the year 1928 (5). He went out to Bengal as a writer in 1763, and was Resident at Midnapore from 1720 to 1772, and Chief at Murshidabad and subsequently head of the provincial council from 1774 to 1780. Although he returned to Europe in January 1780, as evidenced in a letter of January 30, from Hastings to Macpherson, his two natural daughters who were left behind in Calcutta were not baptized until October 1785. We find him active in 1783 along with Major Scott Waring and Laurence Sullivan, in collecting evidence for the Company's case against Fox's India Bill—a service for which he was formally thanked by the Court of Proprietors. He died at his London house in Park Street on April 19, 1827, at the age of eighty-one.

Lionel Darell (1770 and 1771) arrived in Bengal in 1768 with the rank of senior merchant, having married the daughter of Timothy Tullie, a Director, in 1766. He returned to Europe about the year 1775 with a considerable fortune. From 1780 to 1803 he was a Director of the Company, and a member of Parliament from 1780 to 1802. In 1795 he was created a baronet and on his death on October 30, 1803, was succeeded in the title by his son Harry Verelst Darell (1768-1828) who was in the Company's service in Bengal from 1790 to 1816. His funeral procession (says Dr. Holzman in his book on *The Nabobs in England*) attracted a crowd which lined the streets from Temple Bar to the India House.

George Bright (1772 and 1773) came out as a writer in 1765. In 1782 he was "under suspension:" but the nature of his offence and the result upon his fortunes have not been ascertained.

On December 20, 1773, Samuel Montaignut entered upon his duties as Mayor for the year 1774: and Charles Lloyd (a writer of 1763) and William Swainston were sworn in as Sheriff and Deputy Sheriff. These were the last appointments under the Charter of 1753.

THE CHARTER OF 1774.

The Charter of 1774, which established a Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, involved of necessity the disappearance of the Court of

Mayor and Aldermen, with its civil jurisdiction, and abrogated in addition the criminal jurisdiction of the Governor and Council sitting as Commissioners of Oyer and Terminar. But the office of Sheriff was retained. It was expressly laid down in the Letters Patent that "the person who shall be the Sheriff of Fort William at the time of the publication of this Our Charter, in Manner hereinafter directed, shall be and continue the Sheriff until another shall be duly appointed and sworn into the said office." It was further ordered by the said Letters Patent "bearing date the twenty-sixth day of March, in the fourteenth year of the reign of King George the Third:" that the appointment of the Sheriff, and the duties appertaining to his office, shall be regulated as follows:—

And we do further, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, grant, direct and appoint that the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal shall, upon the first Tuesday of December, in every year, nominate three Persons, resident in the Town of Calcutta, or the Precincts thereof, to the Governor-General and Council, or the major part of them, who within three days after such Nomination, shall appoint one of the said three persons to serve the Office of Sheriff for the year ensuing, to be computed from the Twentieth day of December next after such appointment: which Sheriff shall, as soon as conveniently may be, and before he shall enter upon his said Office, take an Oath faithfully to execute his Office, and the Oath of Allegiance, before the Governor-General, or in his Absence, the Senior Member of the Council there present who are hereby respectively authorized to administer the same: and shall continue in such office, during the space of One Whole Year, to be computed from the said Twentieth day of December, and until another shall be duly appointed and sworn into the said Office; and in case such Sheriff shall die in his office, or depart from the Province of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, then another Person shall and may as soon as conveniently may be after the death or Departure of the Sheriff, be in like manner nominated, appointed and sworn in as aforesaid and shall continue in his Office for the Remainder of the year, or until another Sheriff shall be duly appointed and sworn into the said Office: And We do further direct order and appoint that the said Sheriff and his successors, shall by themselves or their sufficient Deputies, to be by them appointed and duly authorized under their respective Hands and Seals, and for whom he and they shall be responsible during his or their continuance in such Office, and he and they are hereby authorized to execute all the Writs, Summons, Rules, Orders, Warrants, Commands, and Process of the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, and make return of the same, together with the Execution thereof, to the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, and to receive and detain in Prison such persons as shall be committed to him for

that purpose by the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal or by the Chief Justice and Justices respectively. And we further direct, ordain and appoint that whenever the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal shall direct or award any Process against the said Sheriff or award any Process in any Cause, Matter or Thing wherein the said Sheriff, on Account of his being related to the Parties or any of them or by Reason of any good Cause or Challenge which would be allowed against any Sheriff in that Part of Great Britain called England, cannot by Law execute the same, in every such case the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal shall name and appoint some other fit Person to execute and return the same; and the said Process shall be directed to the said Person so named for that Purpose: and the cause of such special proceeding shall be suggested and entered on the Records of the same.

In pursuance of these provisions, Alexander Mackrabie, the brother-in-law and private Secretary of Philip Francis, was appointed on December 9, 1774, to be the first Sheriff of Calcutta under the Charter: but not without a significant difference of opinion in Council.

Public Department, dated 9th December 1774.

The Board now proceeding upon the choice of one of the 3 persons returned to them on the 6th instant by the Supreme Court of Judicature to serve the office of Sheriff for the ensuing year.

The Governor-General proposes that Mr. Swainston be appointed to that office.

The General [Clavering] is for Mr. Mackrabie.

Col. Monson the same.

Mr. Barwell confirms the Governor's proposition.

Mr. Francis gives his vote for Mr. Mackrabie.

Mr. Mackrabie being elected Sheriff by a Majority of the Board.

Agreed that notice be given to him to attend the Board to be sworn accordingly.

Ordered that the Secretary attend the Supreme Court of Judicature with the following Resolutions, *viz.*, At a Council held in Fort William the 9th December, 1774.

Willm. Swainston Esq.

Willm. Tryon, Esqr.

And Alexander Mackrabie, Esq.

Having been presented the 6th instant by the Supreme Court to this Board for the appointment of one of the said three persons to serve the office of Sheriff for the year following:

Resolved that Alexander Mackrabie be appointed to the said office.

Resolved that this notification be delivered to the Supreme Court of Judicature by the Secretary and that the Secretary be further

directed to apply to the Chief Justice for his advice in what manner and at what time this notification shall be made.

No further papers regarding Mackrabie's appointment can be traced, and there is no record in the Sheriff's office of the execution of Nuncomar on August 5, 1775 (6). But we know that he was present, for he wrote an account which is reproduced *in ex tenso* in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. He fell ill exactly a year later (August 1776) and was sent to Sea: but rapidly grew worse and was landed at Ganjam, in the Northern Circars, where he lingered until November 29, 1776. The graveyard in which he was presumably buried is picturesquely situated near the ruined fort: but his tomb has disappeared. His affection for Francis was great and it was returned. "The loss of this clever, lively, unselfish and most attached dependant evidently affected Francis keenly," writes Merivale in his biography, "There is something very touching in Mackrabie's numerous letters to his chief during his absence, addressed to his 'dearest and best friend,' wishing him once more all happiness and assuring him 'sick or well, I am yours with the truest affection.' " He had just been appointed to a Bengal writership at the time of his death.

William Swainston, the candidate of the "Minority" had acted (as we have seen) as Deputy Sheriff to Charles Lloyd in the previous years (1773). He came out as a writer in 1772 and having been appointed assistant to the Resident at Midnapore in 1779, had the ill-fortune to incur the displeasure of the Supreme Court in connexion with the Kasijora case in the following year. Hickey writes (Vol. III, p. 147):

Sir Elijah Impey's rancour and violence extended to Mr. William Swainston, the Company's servant in charge of the district in which the native who was the subject of the dispute resided. It being his duty as a public officer, to carry into execution the orders of the Government, he naturally protected the native according to his instructions and would not allow the process of the Court to be executed upon him: for which he likewise was taken up on a writ of attachment and lodged in the same prison with Mr. Nailor, but being a man of stronger nerves than the attorney and the consequences of the confinement not operating upon his mind, he bore it with the utmost philosophy (7).

Swainston was posted to Lucknow in 1782 and returned to his old station in 1788 as first assistant to the Collector of Midnapore and Jellasore. His name disappears from the East India Register in 1790.

The election of Alexander Mackrabie as Sheriff for the year 1775 is the only contested election under the Charter of 1774 which can be traced.

(6) The original "jewel bond," for the forgery of which Nuncomar was convicted, and the indictment dated June 7, 1775, with an interlinear English translation, have, however been preserved: and were presented in 1911 by the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court, to the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, where they are on view in the Document Room.

(7) Thomas North Naylor, the Company's Attorney, was confined in the common jail from March 1 to 16, 1780, and fell seriously ill. His wife (Diana Bertie) died on March 6 during his imprisonment: and he himself died on August 16, less than six months after his release.

Samual Montaignut, the Mayor of 1773, served the office of Sheriff in 1776: and the following extracts relate to subsequent appointments:

(a) *Original Consultations, Public, 5th December 1776: No. 13.*

Mr. Pritchard (8) attend, deliver the follg. Message from the Supreme Court.

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—

I am ordered by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal to attend and acquaint You that the Court do nominate to You.

Mr. Blastus Godly Wright, a Senior Merchant, Mr. Charles Goring, a Senior Merchant, Mr. Richard Johnson, a Factor, being each one of them qualified to serve the office of Sheriff, that you may appoint one of them to serve for the Year ensuing [Dated] Tuesday 3rd December, 1776.

Resolved that Mr. Blastus Godly Wright be elected Sheriff.

(2) *Extract from the General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 6th January, 1777.*

[Para.] 6. After the Departure of Mr. Blastus Godly Wright whom we had elected Sheriff for the Year, in the Shrewsbury, the Supreme Court proceeded to a new Nomination and returned to us Mr. William Wodsworth, Mr. Page Keble, and Mr. Richard Johnson, we appointed the former to serve the office of Sheriff for the present Year.

(3) Fort William, the 29th December 1777.

The following message being delivered from the Supreme Court of Judicature by the clerk of the Crown on the 30th December when the Board where (*sic*) met in the Revenue Department, is ordered to be recorded in this place.

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—

I am ordered by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal to attend and acquaint You that the Court doth nominate to You Mr. David Kellican, Mr. John Fergusson, and Mr. John Richardson, being each of them qualified to serve the Office of Sheriff, that You may appoint one of them to serve for the Remainder of the Year for which John Bristow was appointed, or until another Sheriff shall be duly appointed and sworn into his Office, the said John Bristow having departed the Province of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Resolved that Mr. Richardson be appointed Sheriff for the Remainder of the Year.

All these Sheriffs between the years 1777 and 1781 are covenanted servants of the Company, with the exception of Richardson. The oddly named Blastus Godly Wright (1777), who proceeded to Europe immediately after his nomination, was a writer of 1763: two of his natural children,

(8) James Pritchard had been appointed Sealer at the opening of the Supreme Court on October 14, 1774.

both sons, were baptized in Calcutta on June 10, 1770. William Wodsworth (1777), who was appointed in his place, died on August 28, 1791, at Balasore where he was Resident. John Bristow (1778), who held office for a few days only, is best remembered as the husband of Miss Emma Wrangham whom he married at Chinsurah on May 27, 1782 and who figures in Hickey's *Bengal Gazette* as "Turban Conquest the Chinsurah Belle." He was a constant attendant at the Levees of Francis, and it was through the votes of the majority in Council that he was sent to Lucknow as Resident in 1774 on the recall of Nathaniel Middleton after the first Rohilla War. Hastings recalled him in December 1776, when the death of Monson had restored him to power. He then went to Europe and obtained orders for his reinstatement: and thereafter he was constantly being appointed and recalled until the end of December 31, 1783, when he was finally removed from the office. He died in Calcutta on October 20, 1802, aged 52. John Richardson (1778) who took his place as Sheriff, has been confused with the advocate of that name who assumed the title of baronet. He was a "free merchant," and received the Sylhet Chunam contract in November 1772. William Hickey has much to say about him (*Memoirs* Vol. II, pp. 167, *Seqq.*). He had been a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and was a protégé of Hastings who appointed him commodore of a small squadron which was sent out to keep the Bay of Bengal clear of French privateers. There was much rivalry between captain Richardson of the *Britannia* and Captain Joseph Price of *Resolution* to whom a commodore's commission was also given. Hastings was obliged to reprimand them and tell them that "if they like children were disposed to quarrel for their playthings, the toys should be taken from them."

Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (1779) was the sixth baronet and an intimate friend of Hastings'. He returned to England with a fortune and sat in the House of Commons as member for Ipswich: but ran through his money and was obliged in 1804 to ask for reinstatement in the Company's Service. He obtained several lucrative posts at Calcutta and died there on January 12, 1818. Alexander Van Rixtel (1780) died at Sadraspur, near Calcutta, in 1787: he was then a member of the Board of Trade. His brother Charles who was a Captain in the Bengal Infantry, died at Rajmahal in 1795: they were the sons of a Dutch merchant (9). Herbert Harris (1781) became Mint-Master in Calcutta in 1783, and was Salt Agent at Chittagong from 1803 until his death in Calcutta on January 22, 1810, at the age of 68. The inscription on his tomb in the North Park Street cemetery records that he was "forty-five years in the Company's Civil Service in Bengal": he had come out as a writer in 1765.

On the first page of the Register of Persons taking the Oath of Allegiance upon assumption of office, which opens with the name of Warren Hastings, the signatures may be seen of Mackrabie and several of his immediate successors in the Office of Sheriff.

(9) Information supplied by Major V. C. Hodson.

The page, of which a facsimile forms the frontispiece to the present article, is reproduced in the second volume of the "Bengal and Agra District Gazetteer" for 1841 (opposite page 437). It is headed: "Oath of Allegiance:—I. A. B. do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty. So help me God." At the foot of the page are the words: "Note. This Oath was taken according to a Resolution of Warren Hastings." The following is a list of the signatures in the order in which they are written:—

Warren Hastings.

J. Clavering.

Geo. Monson.

Richd. Barwell.

P. Francis.

Eyre Coote (in margin).

Alex. Mackrabie Sheriff.

S. Montaignut Sheriff.

W. Atkinson Coroner.

W. Wodsworth Jany. the 3rd
1777.

Edw. Wheler.

Jno. Richardson 1st Jan. 1778.

Alexr. Van. Rixtel Dec. 13th
79.

John Mcpherson 1st October.
1781.

Jeremiah Church.

D. Yonge.

John Stables.

Chas. Stuart.

Ro: Sloper.

Cornwallis.

J. Shore.

Alured Clerke.

The signature of Sir John D'Oyly is missing. Jeremiah Church (1783) and Philip Yonge (1785), who are the last two Sheriffs to sign, and who were advocates of the Supreme Court, will be dealt with in the second instalment of these notes. Their names and that of Mr. Atkinson the Coroner figure in good Company. Two sign as Governor-General, three as Commander-in-Chief, and the remainder as Members of Council.

EVAN COTTON.

(To be continued.)

The Standards and Colours of the Old Bengal Army.

IN a previous note (1) I have dealt with the colours of a few of the regiments of the Old Bengal Army, which mutinied or were disbanded during the period 1857-61. It may be of interest to place on record some further information regarding the colours and standards of a number of other regiments which no longer exist, many of which rendered most distinguished service in their day.

I will first deal with regiments which disappeared from the Bengal Army Lists between 1857 and 1861. These may conveniently be divided into two classes, (a) the infantry of the Line and (b) other units. On 1 January, 1857 there were 74 numbered Line regiments of the Bengal Native Infantry. Of these, the 19th B. N. I. was disbanded for mutiny on 31 March, 1857; and of the remaining 73 regiments only 11 survived the post-Mutiny reorganization. These were:—

| Pre-Mutiny Title. | | Title in 1862. | | Present Title. |
|-------------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------------|
| 21st B.N.I. | ... | 1st B.N.I. | ... | 4 1st Punjab Regt. |
| 31st B.N.I. | ... | 2nd B.N.I. | ... | 1 7th Rajput Regt. |
| 32nd B.N.I. | ... | 3rd B.N.I. | ... | 3rd Brahmins.* |
| 33rd B.N.I. | ... | 4th B.N.I. | ... | 2 7th Rajput Regt. |
| 42nd B.N.I. | ... | 5th B.N.I. | ... | 5th Light Infantry.* |
| 43rd B.N.I. | ... | 6th B.N.I. | ... | 1 9th Jat Regt. |
| 47th B.N.I. | ... | 7th B.N.I. | ... | 3 7th Rajput Regt. |
| 59th B.N.I. | ... | 8th B.N.I. | ... | 4 7th Rajput Regt. |
| 63rd B.N.I. | ... | 9th B.N.I. | ... | 1 9th Gurkha Rifles. |
| 65th B.N.I. | ... | 10th B.N.I. | ... | 3 9th Jat Regt. |
| 70th B.N.I. | ... | 11th B.N.I. | ... | 5 7th Rajput Regt. |

*These two regiments were disbanded in 1921-22.

PRE-MUTINY INFANTRY.

1st Bengal Native Infantry.

This regiment mutinied at Cawnpore on 6 June, 1857. Its colours were recaptured at Mangalwar on 21 September, 1857 by Captain Barrow's mounted volunteers; but their present whereabouts is not known. (Gimlette, *A Postscript to the Records of the Indian Mutiny*).

10th Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutined at Fatehgarh on 18 June, 1857, and joined the forces of the Nawab of Farakhabad. Their colours were transferred to the Nawab's "Tenth Regiment," which was composed of the 41st B. N. I. and other Sitapur mutineers. (*Narrative of Events regarding the Mutiny in India* (Official), Calcutta, 1881, I. 142).

15th Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutined at Nasirabad on 28 May, 1857. The colours were retaken by the 3rd Hodson's Horse in April, 1859, at Koel-ka-jangal in Gonda district. (Gimlet, *op. cit.*).

19th Bengal Native Infantry.

This unit handed in its colours when it was disbanded on 31 March, 1857. (Kaye and Malleison, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 1896, 1,400).

28th Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutined at Shahjehanpur on 31 May, 1857. The colours were found wrapped round the dead body of a mutineer subedar at the engagement of Mannahar (near Azamgarh), on 20 April, 1858. (*G. O. C. C.* 130 of 1858).

30th Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutined at Nasirabad on 28 May, 1857. The regimental colour was recaptured at Keoti in Bundelkhand on 4 March, 1859 by the 2nd Sikh Irregular Cavalry—now the Probyn's Horse—and is still in possession of that regiment (*G. O. C. C.* 535 of 1859). Tradition has it that the Royal colour of this battalion is—or was—in the possession of an aged Indian woman, who was determined to be buried in it. It would be interesting to know whether others have heard of this story, and if there is any truth in it.

41st Bengal Native Infantry.

New colours were presented to this regiment at Delhi in 1848 or 1849 by Sir Charles Napier, Commander-in-Chief, the old colours being placed in the Church. Accounts of the siege and fall of Delhi make no mention, so far as can be ascertained, of the fate of the colours in that Church; and inquiries go to shew that at the present day there are no colours in any of the Delhi churches. (*Recollections of a Lucknow Veteran*, by Major General J. Ruggles, London, 1906).

52nd Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutined at Jubbulpore on 18 September, 1857. Its regimental colour was recaptured at Rampur Kasia on 3 November, 1858 by Lance Dafadar Wali Mohammed Khan, 1st Punjab Cavalry (now the P. A. V. O. Cavalry, Frontier Force.) (*Services of the Bengal Native Army*, Cardew, Calcutta, (official), 1903).



REGIMENTAL COLOUR OF 58th B.N.I. NOW IN
FORT WILLIAM



Squadron standard of the premutiny 5th Bengal Light Cavalry. about 2' square.
Dark blue with yellow silk embroidery.

53rd Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutined at Cawnpore on 5 June, 1857. Its colours were recaptured near Gonda on 12 April, 1859 by the 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry (now the Probyn's Horse), which regiment still possesses them. (*G. O. C. C.* 708 of 1859).

58th Bengal Native Infantry.

Disarmed at Rawalpindi on 7 July, 1857, and disbanded in 1861. Its colours are now in the *Indian Army Ordnance Corps Museum at Fort William, Calcutta*. They are in good condition.

64th Bengal Native Infantry.

Deprived of its colours in March, 1844 for mutinous conduct: they were restored in the following year for good service on the Northern Sind Frontier. Disarmed at Abazai, Shakbadr, and Michni (near Peshawar) early in June, 1857. Its colours are now in the *I. A. O. C. Museum at Fort William*, and are in good condition. (Cardew, *op. cit.*: Trotter, *Life of John Nicholson*, 3rd Edn., London, 1898).

OTHER PRE-MUTINY REGIMENTS.

1st Bengal Europeans.

Amongst the former titles of this regiment, which was known to the sepoys as *Clark-ka-gora*, were "1st Bengal European Light Infantry" (November, 1840) and "1st European Bengal Fusiliers" (March, 1846). Its *First Stand* of colours is now in the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster, but is not displayed owing to its fragile state. The *Second Stand* is sometimes stated to be in the Royal Hibernian Academy at Dublin, but this is not correct, and extensive inquiries in Dublin have led to no result. The *Third Stand*, which was carried at Ferozeshah and went out of use on 25 February, 1862, was deposited in Winchester Cathedral on 18 July, 1871. A coloured illustration of these flags forms the frontispiece of Lieut.-Colonel P. R. Innes's *History of the Bengal European Regiment*, and is also reproduced as the frontispiece to the first volume of Captain S. McCance's *History of the Royal Munster Fusiliers*, (privately printed 1927).

The regiment was transferred from the Company's to the Queen's service in 1861 as the "101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers," and in 1881 became the "1st Bn. Royal Munster Fusiliers." It was disbanded on 31 July, 1922, having previously given its colours into the keeping of H. M. the King at Windsor Castle.

2nd Bengal Europeans.

Raised in 1765: amalgamated with the 1st Europeans in 1803: again raised in 1824, and again amalgamated in 1830. It was re-embodied in July, 1839, and in January, 1850 was entitled the "2nd Bengal European Fusiliers." The *First Stand* of which record exists was ordered by General Order dated 12 November, 1829 to be lodged in the Agra Magazine,

apparently as a preliminary to the forthcoming amalgamation. When the regiment had been re-raised, the *Second Stand* was presented at Hazaribagh in October, 1839. Of this, the regimental colour now hangs in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, having been deposited in 1927 by the Regimental Trustees of the Royal Munster Fusiliers. The *Third Stand* was presented at Agra on 5 March, 1850 by Mr. James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces; and was carried until October, 1862 when it was replaced by a stand of Crown colours. The regimental colour is also in the Victoria Memorial; which also possesses the colour presented to the regiment (then the "104th Bengal Fusiliers") by General Sir Hugh Rose, Commander-in-Chief in India, in October, 1862. The unit afterwards became the 2nd Bn. Royal Munster Fusiliers.

5th Regiment Bengal Light Cavalry.

This regiment, though it had shewn no outward signs of disloyalty was disarmed at Peshawar on 22 May, 1857. It was finally disbanded in 1858, and its standards are now in the I. A. O. C. Museum in Fort William.

7th Regiment Bengal Light Cavalry.

Mutinied (in part) at Lucknow on 31 May, 1857. Its standards were saved and lodged in the Residency. They are illustrated at page 306 of the *Cavalry Journal*, 1914.

10th Infantry, Oudh Irregular Force.

Mutinied at Sitapur on 3 June, 1857. Its colours—"large silk colours about two and a half yards square"—were recaptured by the 9th Royal Lancers near Fatehgarh on 2 January, 1858. The Royal colour was presented to Sir Colin Campbell shortly afterwards. (*With H. M. 9th Lancers in the Indian Mutiny*, Anson, London, 1896).

H. BULLOCK.

Bengal Chiefs' Struggle for Independence in the Reign of Akbar and Jahangir.

§6. AKBAR'S FIRST CLASH WITH THE CHIEFS: DEATH OF KHAN JAHAN.

DAUD fell on the 11th July 1576, in the battle of Rajmahal. Let us take note of the movements of the belligerents after the battle.

It has already been seen how Katlu Khan and Srihari-Vikramaditya of Daud's party succeeded in settling themselves in Orissa and Jessore respectively. Kalapahad had fled, wounded, and for some time to come we hear nothing of him. But there is no doubt that he did not submit to the Mughals. We shall meet with him again in the subsequent struggle for independence.

We have seen how Gajapati, Zamindar of Patna-Hajipur had risen for Daud in the rear of the Mughal army at Rajmahal. He was in reality the Chief of Bhojpur. Bhojpur is situated in the district of Shahabad, south of the Ganges and west of the Son river. The position of Bhojpur has been well-marked on Rennel's Bengal Atlas. The ruling family is called the family of Ujjayinia Chiefs and they claim the famous King Bhoja of Dhara as their progenitor. The Dumraon Raj is the present representative of the family.

The revolt of Gajapati assumed very serious proportions. He occupied the whole of Shahabad District. Farhat Khan, the Zagirdar of Arah, together with his son Farhang Khan and an adherent Qarataq Khan fell in battle against Gajapati (A. N. III. P. 240). Peshru Khan, the envoy of Akbar, had fallen into Gajapati's hands on his way to Khan Jahan's Camp at Rajmahal and been taken prisoner. For a long time he remained a captive and could only escape when things were going badly for Gajapati. When, at last, Gajapati crossed the Ganges and advanced to occupy Ghazipur, Akbar despatched Shahbaz Khan to stop his progress (June, 1576). Thus checked, Gajapati recrossed the Ganges and fell back, fighting all the way, on the Fort of Jagadishpur. Driven out from that place, he sought shelter in the region of Shergarh and Rhotas. The latter Fort was at this time being held by an Afghan on behalf of Junaid Karrani. After the fall of Junaid in the battle of Rajmahal and at the time of the commotion created by Gajapati, this Fort was surrendered to Shahbaz Khan. In the meantime Muzaffar Khan had returned to Bihar after the battle of Rajmahal and had advanced to capture the Fort of Rohtas. He turned back at the news that the Fort had been surrendered to Shahbaz Khan. Akbarnama records nothing further about Gajapati and we are left in the dark as to his final fate.

Akbarnama records that Todar Mal saw Akbar at Banswara (in Rajputana) in December this year and presented him with 304 elephants and

other treasures out of the spoils of Bengal. Soon after, he was sent on military duties to Guzrat (A. N. III. P. 277).

In February, 1577, Shahbaz Khan returned from Bihar and saw the Emperor. The Commandership of the Fort of Rhotas was handed over to Muhibbali Khan according to Akbar's directions. Favoured with diverse honours, Shahbaz was sent to the Deccan War (A. N. III. P. 280).

Muzaffar Khan, the Governor of Bihar presented himself before the Emperor in August this year. Akbar received him with honours and lavished favours upon him. Todar Mal, in the meantime, returned victorious from the Guzrat campaign. Todar Mal and Shah Mansur were ordered by the Emperor to overhaul the revenue administration of the Empire under Muzaffar Khan's supervision. The Subah of Bihar was left in the care of Sujait Khan and others.

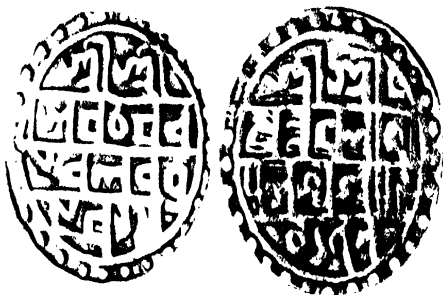
We have now disposed of the chief actors in the late Bihar campaign. Let us now follow the movements of Khan Jahan.

By the 11th of July, 1576, which saw the fall of Daud in the battle of Rajmahal, the rains must have set in, in earnest. The remaining months of the year, appear, therefore, to have been spent by Khan Jahan in taking rest at Tanda. No record is available as to how Khan Jahan employed the latter part of 1576 and the greater part of 1577 A. D. Towards the end of 1577, we hear of him again. Presumably, Khan Jahan must have spent the last half of 1576 and the greater part of 1577 in putting down disaffection in Birbhum and Jharkhand and on either bank of the Ganges.

In December 1577, the Afghans at Satgaon again created disturbance. The remnant of Daud's adherents and his family were putting up at Satgaon. Even when reduced to such straits, the Afghans could not become of one counsel, and never ceased quarrelling among themselves. The factions were led by Mati (real name Muhammad Khan Khashkhel) on the one side and Jamshed on the other. Mati had possessed himself of the choice treasures of Daud and was meditating defection and flight to the Mughal camp. Jamshed brought him to bay and defeated, Mati took to flight. On this, two Afghan partisans of Mati conspired and had Jamshed assassinated. Taking advantage of this civil war, Khan Jahan advanced upon Satgaon. Daud's mother Naulaka asked protection of Khan Jahan with her entire household and Khan Jahan graciously consented to take her under protection. It was arranged that Naulaka would go and take Khan Jahan's protection, when the latter had moved on to Tanda. It is not clear whether Khan Jahan succeeded in clearing the Satgaon region of the Afghans, why the surrender of Naulaka was deferred to a subsequent date and why the scene of surrender had to be shifted to Tanda!

Towards the end of April or beginning of May, 1578, when Akbar was out ahunting on the banks of the Jhelum in the Panjab and was enjoying a camp life, envoys from Bengal sent by Khan Jahan reached him to report that through the blessings of the saintly emperor, Bengal was happy in the enjoyment of undisturbed peace and the fire of disaffection had been

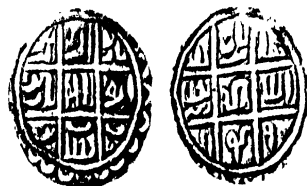
SOME OLD COINS OF BENGAL AND "THE CANNON INSCRIPTION OF ISA KHAN."



No. 1.

Coin of Nara-narayana of Cooch-Bihar.
"Sri Sri
Sivacharana
Kamalamadhu
karasya.

Sri Sri
Mannaranara
yanasya Saka
1477."



No. 2.

The Sonakhira Coin
of Barbak Shah, son of
Humayun Shah.
949 H.



No. 3.

Amaramanikya,
1499 S.



No. 4.

Amaramanikya,
Commemorating Sylhet
Conquest, 1503 S.



No. 5.

A Badarshahi
Coin of Mahmud Shah.
944 H.



No. 6.

Coin of Rajadhara-
manikya, 1508 S.



No. 7.

The Cannon Inscription of Isa Khan in the Dacca Museum.
"Sarkar—Sriyut—Isakhan Masnadalvi
San Hijri, 1002."

altogether extinguished. Akbarnama records that Malla Deva or Naranarayan, King of Cooch Bihar *again* submitted and sent envoys to the Emperor with presents. The presents from the Subadar of Bengal were first placed before the Emperor. These included 54 noted elephants. The presents from the King of Cooch Behar were then accepted.

A brief history of Cooch Bihar will form the subject matter of a subsequent chapter. It will suffice to state here that during this period, Bengal had three independent kingdoms on its three sides, viz., Cooch Bihar on its north-east, Tippera on its east and Arrakan on its south-east. None of these countries was at this time politically weak or insignificant and the history of these three countries mix up inextricably with the history of Bengal of this period. What Abul Fazl calls "submission" appears to be nothing but the attempts of a weaker neighbour to please the stronger neighbour by friendly presents. All coins of Naranarayan hitherto discovered are of 1477 *Saka* or 1555 A.D. (Plate. No. 1.) This year must be taken as the initial year of the reign of Naranarayan. He reigned up to 1509 *Saka* or 1587 A. D. as coins of his son Lakshminarayan appear in that year. Minting of coins, an infallible proof of independent sovereignty, is found to continue for some generations even after Lakshmi-Narayan. In the reign of Aurangzib, Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal had to undertake an expedition on an extensive scale to conquer Cooch Bihar. So, the friendly presents sent by Naranarayan to Akbar, in 1578 A. D. (A. N. III. P. 349) can in no way be construed as tokens of submission.

Abul Fazl writes:—"The King of Cooch Bihar *again* submitted." Nowhere in Akbarnama have I succeeded in finding when the *first* submission took place. Cooch Bihar is previously referred to after Daud's disastrous evacuation of Patna, when Kalapahad and some other partisans of Daud took shelter at Ghoraghat and the Qaqshals succeeded in driving them into Cooch Bihar. It was perhaps at this time that the King of Cooch Bihar was of some help to the Mughals in checkmating the Afghans and this action of the King of Cooch Bihar may have been taken as an act of "submission", for the **first** time.

The reports sent by Khan Jahan in the beginning of 1578 A. D. had conveyed to the Emperor the very soothing news that Bengal, the notorious Bulghakkhana (house of strife) was at last in the enjoyment of tranquil peace. The end of 1578 showed that Khan Jahan was a new man in Bengal and had yet to learn reading the weather conditions of this country full of mists. The eastern sky was again dark with war clouds and the Afghan Jagirdars of Eastern Bengal were preparing to renew their struggle with the Mughals under the leadership of the famous Isa Khan, Masnad-i-Ali.

RISE OF ISA KHAN.

A wonderful personality of this period is this Isa Khan Masnad-i-Ali. The descendants of Isa Khan are still powerful Zamindars in the district of Mymensing. But they have hardly made any attempt worth mentioning to recover the history of their illustrious progenitor. The only attempt they made ended in the publication of a booklet in Bengali called *Masnadali*

Hilash compiled by Pandit Kalikumar Chakravarti and Munshi Raj Chandra Ghose. This poor attempt lacks in historical insight and is full of fables and fictions. This brochure was published in 1298 B.S.=1892 A.D. The other works dealing with the history of Isa Khan have been enumerated in Sec. I. The tradition is universal that Isa Khan became master of 22 Parganas. A list of these 22 Parganas will be found in the "History of Mymensing" by Babu Kedarnath Majumdar, as well as in the District Gazetteer of Mymensing, Ed. 1917, P. 168. All the writers record that defeated in contest with Manasimha, Isa Khan accompanied him to Delhi and was granted a Sanad by Emperor Akbar for these 22 Parganas. The wonderful diplomatic talent of Isa Khan and his lifelong struggle for independence have thus been very imperfectly understood by these writers.

The fact that Isa Khan never bowed down his head to Akbar has been, however, recognised by a few keen-sighted historians,—notably by Beveridge. Says he:—" (In Akbarnama, Vol. III) we are told more than once of his making submission and sending presents. But he was never really subdued and his swamps and creeks enabled him to preserve his independence as effectually as the Aravalli Hills protected Rana Pratap of Udaipur." J. A. S. B., 1904, P. 61.

In describing the Subah of Bangala, the *Ain-i-Akbari* says:—"The tract of country on the east called Bhati is reckoned a part of this province. It is ruled by Isa Afghan and the Khutba is read and the coin struck in the name of his present Majesty. . . . Adjoining it is an extensive tract of country inhabited by the Tipperah tribes. The name of the ruler is Bijay Manik" (1). *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, Jarret. P. 117.

This reference to Isa Khan presents him in the light of an almost independent ruler and the mention of Bijaya Manikya, an undoubtedly independent ruler, in the same breath and in the same language, is suggestive of the light in which Isa Khan was held by the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. But like his illustrious predecessor Sulaiman Karrani, Isa was a very cautious man. We have already seen how in 1575 A. D., after the death of Munim Khan, Isa Khan lost no time in driving off Shah Bardi, the admiral of the Mughal Nawara from eastern waters. The following observations of Akbar-nama may now be taken note of:—

In the account of the troubles that occurred at the end of 1578, Akbar-nama observes:—

"Isa Khan, Zamindar of Bhati spent his time in dissimulation," A. N. III, P. 376.

There is a rather detailed notice of Isa Khan in describing Shahbaz's contest with Isa Khan in 1584 A.D. The following observations occur there:—

(1) The *Ain-i-Akbari*, completed in the year 1596-97 (Trans. by Blochmann, Vol. I, Preface, p. XXI) contains much antiquated information. Bijaya Manikya died in 1571 A.D. and was succeeded by Ananta (1571-72), Udaya (1572-1576), Jaya (1576), Amara (1577-1586 A.D.) and Rajadhiraj (1586-1590) within the period during which the *Ain-i-Akbari* was completed. We will have occasion to refer to the use of similar antiquated information by Abul Fazl in dealing with the rulers of Baclā.

"Isa acquired fame by his ripe judgment and deliberateness and made the 12 *Zamindars* of Bengal subject to himself. Out of foresight and cautiousness, he refrained from waiting upon the rulers of Bengal, though he rendered service to them and sent them presents. From a distance, he made use of submissive language." A. N. III, P. 648.

This appears to be a very accurate and faithful description of Isa Khan and his policy. Like Sulaiman Karrani, Isa did not think it wise to assume complete independence, but he was no whit a more dependent ruler than Sulaiman Karrani was.

Ralph Fitch, the pioneer English traveller in India started for Bengal from Agra in the beginning of October, 1585. He reached Satgaon in February, 1586. In November, 1586 he was travelling in Eastern Bengal and he took ship for Burma from Sripur on the 28th November, 1586. (Ralph Fitch by Horton Ryley, London, 1899, P. 99, 111, and 153.) During 1585-86 Shahbaz Khan was very reluctantly rendering service in Bengal and half-heartedly fighting with the rebellious Chiefs with a disaster in the beginning and then with indifferent success. So, it would be interesting to learn what Fitch says about these fighting Chiefs of Eastern Bengal. Says Fitch:—

"They be all hereabouts rebels against their King Zebaldim Echebar: For here are so many rivers and islands that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevail against them." . . .

"Sinnergan is a town six leagues (i.e., 18 miles) from Serrepore. . . The chief King of all these countries is called Isacan, and he is chief of all other Kings. . ."

The position of Isa Khan as an independent ruler and as the overlord, can very well be estimated from all these references in Akbarnama and in Ralph Fitch's Accounts. Akbarnama contains detailed accounts of Manasimha's struggles with Isa Khan,—defeated in which, tradition sends Isa Khan to Akbar to beg for the famous Sanad for the 22 Parganas. But Akbarnama nowhere represents Isa Khan as altogether vanquished and it is needless to mention that there is nowhere a word about Isa Khan's journey to Delhi, though we can follow from its accounts all the movements of Isa Khan until the day of his death! On page 1140, Vol. III, the death of Isa Khan is recorded in the following words:—"One of the occurrences was the death of Isa Khan. He was a great landholder of Bengal. He had some share of prudence, but from somnolence of fortune, *he did not come to Court.*" No statement can be more clear and it is inconceivable that Abul Fazl would needlessly conceal or forget to mention so important and, from the imperial point of view, so welcome a piece of information, as Isa Khan's submission and his journey to the Mughal capital. I cannot admire the historical insight of those writers who, in the face of these overwhelming evidences, have taken as true history the puerile tradition about the single combat of Manasimha and Isa Khan, resulting in the latter's submission to Akbar and journey to Agra to receive the fabulous Farman for the 22 Parganas.

The fact seems to be that, Isa, by his own prowess and political sagacity became master of vast territories in Eastern Bengal represented by the famous 22 Parganas. The story of Akbar's *sanad* for them and Isa Khan's journey to Agra to receive it, is an absolute fiction. As will be seen later, the *sanads* granted by Jahangir to Bhabananda, the progenitor of the Krishnanagar Raj are being still carefully preserved in the Krishnanagar Raj family and these two original grants are always referred to in the subsequent *sanads* preserved in the family. Had Akbar issued any *sanad* to Isa Khan granting him the famous 22 Parganas, or even confirming him in their possession, it is simply inconceivable that this important document or its copy should not be preserved in the family or no reference to it should be found in the documents that the family still possesses. Half-a-century ago, Dr. Wise searched in vain for any document of importance in the family and the earliest document that he could find was dated during the rule of Shah Shuja (J. A. S. B., 1874, P. 214). The statement of Akbar-nama regarding Isa Khan that he died fighting to the end of his days and that he never went to Court is practically conclusive regarding this question. If further proof were necessary, the manner in which Islam Khan's advance into Eastern Bengal was opposed by the sons of Isa Khan and their confederates in 1610 A.D., and the manner in which every inch of the ground was contested by these stubborn lovers of freedom, should leave no doubt in the mind of a discerning student of history that Islam Khan had to contend with the free sons of a free father and not with vassals who held their Zamindari through a *sanad* from the Emperor.

The evidence of coins may here be discussed. In the pre-Mughal period, Sonargaon, Fathabad, Nasratabad, Muazzamabad, etc., were famous mint-towns in East Bengal. In 1613 A.D., in the ninth year of Jahangir's reign, when Eastern Bengal was really subdued by the Mughals, coins were not slow in appearing from the new capital Jahangirnagar (Dacca). Coin No. 674 of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, is a coin of the 12th year of Jahangir minted at Jahangirnagar. This is the earliest of the Jahangirnagar Coins of Jahangir. Coins of the years 9th—11th may also turn up in future. On the coins of Akbar issued in Eastern India previous to the issue of Jahangir's coins from Jahangirnagar, the names of two mints are found. One of them is Patna. Coins of 983H=1575 A.D. from this mint are known. (Whitehead's Catalogue of the Coins of the Panjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. II, Nos. 139 and 266). This Patna series of Akbar's Coins is found to extend to the last year of the reign of Akbar. (Brown's Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, Vol. II, No. 379).

A second series of Coins with a different mint must also be ascribed to Eastern India. These coins are square in shape and their obverse is occupied by the declaration of the Muslim Faith. A couplet in Persian appears on the reverse, which can be translated as follows:—

The Coin of Bangala became pleasing from this fact
That its honour lay in being struck by Akbar Shah.

(Brown, Vol. I, P. 18).

Two Coins of this series are to be found in the cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Wright's Catalogue, Nos. 315a, 315b, dated 1009 H. and 1010H.) two in the Lahore Museum Cabinet (Whitehead, No. 259—260) and four in the Cabinet of the Lucknow Museum (Brown, Nos. 362—365). Mr. Nelson-Wright could not read the mint-name correctly. In J. A. S. B., 1909, P. 319—320 Major Vost described this series. He was the first to point out that these 'Bangala' Coins of Akbar in the different Museums of India range in date from the 39th regnal year—1002H to 1011H, i.e., from 1593 A. D. to 1602 A. D. Major Vost was inclined to take Bangala to be equivalent to Gaur. He quite forgot that Gaur was deserted and in ruins during this period and even admitting that the mint, all the same, was situated at Gaur, there appears to be no valid reason why the place should be designated by the general name of 'Bangala' in preference to its names of Lakhnauti or Jannatabad famous on coins.

In J. A. S. B., 1920, P. 199—212, Prof. Hodivala, a deep student of Mughal numismatics, wrote a learned article on the mint name of Bangala. He rightly holds that the mint-name of Bangala, as found on the Coins of Akbar, does not signify any particular place (2). In those days, when the Mughals had only a precarious hold upon Bengal, any place which might be the headquarters of the Subadar for the time being, would be designated as Bangala, on the Coins.

The appearance of these Coins of Bengal proper in 1593 would suggest that from 1575 up to this date, the state of Bengal was too disturbed to allow proper minting operations to begin. By 1593, minting operations began, but no particular place in Bengal could be fixed upon as a mint-town, and the Coins manufactured were designated with the general name of Bengal Coins. The couplet on the 'Bangala' Coins also suggests that this series was the first in Bengal to be graced with Akbar's name (3).

(2) "Briefly, there would appear to be fairly good grounds for thinking that Bangala was not the real or fixed name of any town or city, but an alternative or honorific designation by which the capital of the province at the time being was known. . . . The Bangala of the Coins of the 39th and the following years of Akbar's reign, would, by a parity of reasoning, be Akbarnagar (i.e. Rajmahal)" J. A. S. B., 1920, P. 211.

"But it may be asked, if Akbarnagar is no other than Bangala, why have we coins of Akbarnagar and of Bangala also I can only reply that the mint-masters of Akbar's days appear to have seen nothing absurd or incongruous in the practice." *Ibid.* Para 3.

It is difficult to feel satisfied with the explanation of the double mintage at Rajmahal under different names advanced by the learned professor. In 1592 when the Mughals were pursuing the flying Afghans near Jaleswar in Orissa, there is a record of gracing the face of Coins with the Emperor's name. (A. N. III, P. 940.) The phraseology sounds strangely like the couplet on the 'Bangala' Coins and this minting of Coins in camp probably points to the manner in which Coins designating a country as mint and not a particular town or city, originated.

(3) As Manasimha also assumed the reins of Government in Bengal about this time, these Coins may easily be mistaken as the first fruits of Manasimha's subjugation of Bengal. To dispel this illusion, it is only necessary to remember that Manasimha was sent to Bengal by May, 1594 (A. N. III, P. 1001) and it was not before March 1595 that he could reach Tanda and take up the duties of his office seriously (A. N. III, P. 1023). This "Bangala" series was started long before these dates.

AN IDEA OF THE EXTENT OF ISA KHAN'S KINGDOM.

Abul Fazal designates Isa Khan as the Ruler of Bhati. There is an incomprehensible description of Bhati in Akbarnama. In the Ain-i-Akbari, the extent of the Subah of Bangala from Chittagong to the Pass of Telia-ghari is given as 400 *Kos*; and from the northern mountains to the *Sarkar* of Madaran (approximately, the present Hooghly district) the country is said to extend for 200 *Kos*. (Jarret. II, P. 116). The tract of Bhati in Akbarnama is even a greater area (A. N. III, P. 646) where it is said to extend east-west for 400 *Kos* and north-south for 300 *Kos*. This fabulous country is also given fabulous boundaries! On the east is the sea and the country of the Habshis. On the west is the abode of the Khyans. On the South is Tanda. On the north is again the sea and the frontier of Tibet. Many writers have suggested that the description is a bungled one and errors have crept in through copyist's mistakes. The passage from Ain-i-Akbari regarding this region of Bhati quoted above (Jarret. II, P. 117) shows that it lies on the eastern frontier of Bengal and beyond it lies the country of the Tipras. This makes the situation of Bhati clear, and we can comprehend that the tract of country comprising of the eastern portions of Dacca and Mymensing and the western portions of Tippera and Sylhet is the region which has been designated by Abul Fazl as Bhati.

Presumably, this refers to the initial state of the territories of Isa Khan. That Isa Khan ultimately made himself master of 22 Parganas, is universally known and remembered and the memory of the public in general is not likely to err very much in this respect. I have succeeded in finding several lists of these twenty-two Parganas in print, viz. (i) The list published by the late Babu Kedarnath Majumdar in his Bengali History of Mymensingh, P. 57 (ii) A list published in the District Gazetteer of Mymensingh, Ed. 1917, P. 168. (iii) A list contained in the ballad called—"Dewan Isa Khan Masnadali" published by Rai Dinesh Chandra Sen Bahadur, D. Litt., in his Mymensingh Ballads. Part II, P. 366. These three lists are printed below side by side for facility of comparison.

| 1. HISTORY OF MYMENSING. | 2. DO. GAZETTEER. | 3. DO. BALLAD. |
|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Alepshahi. | Alapsingh. | Alapsingh. |
| 2. Maminshahi. | Mymensing. | Mymensing. |
| 3. Hushenshahi. | Hushenshahi. | Hushenshahi. |
| 4. Barabaju. | Barabaju. | |
| 5. Merauna. | Kagmari. | |
| 6. Herana. | Atia. | |
| 7. Kharana. | | |
| 8. Sher Ali. | | |
| 9. Bhawal Baju. | Bhawal. | Bhawal. |

| 1. HISTORY OF MYMENSING. | 2. DO. GAZETTEER. | 3. DO. BALLAD. |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| 10. Daskahaniya Baju. | Sherpur. | Sherpur. |
| 11. Siyar Jalkar. | Khaliajuri. | Khaliajuri. |
| 12. Singdhamain. | Singdha. | Singdha. |
| 13. Sing Nasratujiyal. | Nasirujiyal. | Nasirujiyal. |
| 14. Darji Baju. | Darji Baju. | Darji Baju. |
| 15. Hazradi. | Hazradi. | Hazradi. |
| 16. Jafarshahi. | Jafarshahi. | Jayareshai. |
| 17. Baldakhal. | Bardakhat and Bardakhat Magra. | Bardakhat, Bardakhat Manara |
| 18. Sonargaon. | Sonargaon. | Swarnagram. |
| 19. Maheswardi. | Maheswardi. | Maheswardi. |
| 20. Paitkara. | Paitkara. | Paitkara |
| 21. Katraba. | Katraba with Kurikhai. | Katraba. Kurikhai. |
| 22. Gangamandal. | Gangamandal. Joar Hoshenpur. Joan Shahi. | Gangamandal. Joar Hoshenpur. Joan Shahi. |

The third list has only 21 names, the obvious omission being Barabazu. The other discrepancies in the three lists can easily be accounted for. The names Merauna, Herana, Kharana and Sher Ali occur in the first list only. These, as Kedar Babu explains (*Maymansingher Itihas*, P. 60, *Do. Viharana*, P. 33) are parts of the unwieldy pargana Barabaju, which has been cut into two by the Brahmaputra flowing into the Jamuna channel. A large part of this pargana lies at present on the western side of the river. The Parganas Atia, Kagmari appear instead in the second list. The third list obviously omits Borabaju and does not name any of its subordinate parganas. Pargana Pukhuria lies in this region and consists of "scattered villages in Jamalpur, Sherpur and Nalitabari, but most of it lies along the Jamuna in the northern Thanas of Tangail. It includes the northern part of the Madhupur Jungle." (Final Report, P. 84, Para 225). It is named as a separate Pargana by Todar Mal in *Sarkar Bajuha* and so it was a pargana independent of Barabaju. No list mentions it as to have originally belonged to Isa Khan but its geographical position between Jafar Shah (Jamalpur) and Sherpur on the north and Barabaju on the south makes the supposition almost improbable that it belonged to anybody else than Isa Khan.

The Siyar Jalkar of the first list is equivalent to the parganas of Khaliajuri and Joanshahi of the second and third lists.

Joar Hoshenpur is a small joar i.e. a small separate unit, in the big pargana of Hoshenshahi, which is mentioned in all the three lists.

Bardakhat Magra of the second list appears to be identical with Bardakhat Manara of the third list. I have searched in vain for locating the place.

Kurikhai is a part of the *pargana* of Baradakhat. It is situated at the junction of the three *parganas* of Joanshahi, Baradakhat and Maheswardi.

None of the lists mentions the *pargana* of Sarail, occupying the entire north-eastern wing of the Tippera district, as to have belonged to Isa Khan. Babu Kailash Chandra Singha in his *Rajmala* says that the *pargana* came into the hands of Dewan Majlis Ghazi, a descendant of Isa Khan, (*Rajmala*, P. 449). None of the genealogies of Isa Khan's family that are available at present mentions this Dewan Majlis Ghazi. Kedar Babu in his *Maymansingher Viharana* P. 28, says that one Masjid Jalal ('Mahijjalal' according to a writer in the *Kayastha Patrika*, Asharh, 1322 B.S. "*Gajdani Voamsa*," P. 128) became the master of Nasratujjal after the demise of Isa Khan and Khaliajuri fell to the share of a Majlis family. (*Viharana*, P. 32). Khaliajuri and Sarail are adjoining *parganas*. In giving an account of the Mughal general Khan Jahan's first clash with Isa Khan, Akbarnama mentions in this very locality two zamindars, Majlis Pratap and Majlis Dilawar. It was their espousing the cause of Isa Khan that changed the tide of the war. These two Majlis are to be accommodated in the *parganas* of Khaliajuri, Joanshanhi and Sarail. On page 450 of Kailash Babu's *Rajmala*, a genealogy of Majlis Ghazi of Sarail has been given. From this genealogy it will be found that Dewan Samdad Ali, who lost his Zamindari in 1856 is 13th in descent from Majlis Ghazi. So Majlis Ghazi of Sarail has to be taken as a contemporary of Isa Khan (4). That Sarail originally belonged to Isa Khan can very effectively be proved from the metrical *Rajmala*.

Let us now attempt to gather a closer knowledge of the vast territories of Isa Khan. It is necessary to remember in this connection that, the *parganas* of the Tippera District are more or less compact areas. The *parganas* of Mymensing are also of similar nature but the *parganas* of Dacca are very much scattered *parganas*.

1. **Alepshahi or Alapsingha.** A big *pargana*, about 560 square miles in area, now almost entirely in the possession of the well-known Acharyya-Chaudhuri family of Muktagachha. The Dacca-Bahadurabad Railway line is practically its eastern boundary and the *pargana* lies west of the section from station Dhalla to station Pearpur, passing Mymensing on the way,—comprising the present police stations of Muktagachha, Fulbaria and Trisal.

(4) "About the time of Isa Khan, Sarail Pargana passed into the hands of the Dewan family, the first zamindar Majlis Ghazi being of Isa Khan's family." Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in the district of Tippera, 1915-1919, P. 76, Para 139. There is a mosque at Sarail, built by the wife of Nur Muhammad, grandson of Majlis Ghazi. The inscription reads as follows in translation: "In the reign of Badsha Aurangzib known as Alamgir, this mosque was built by the wife of Nur Muhammad, son of Majlis Shahabaz in the auspicious month of Rabi'ul in the year 1080 H." Ibid, P. 77. Hijri 1080 began on the 1st Jan. 1669 A.D. If the grandson of Majlis Ghazi was living in 1669, the grandfather may very well be taken as a successor of Isa Khan who began his activities by 1575 A.D.

(Final Report, Appendix c. Pargana Map of the proposed Central District).

2. **Maminshahi** (Mymensing). This *pargana* is even bigger than Alapsingha comprising 604 square miles of land. It lies on the eastern side of the Brahmaputra and extends eastwards for about 40 miles from the river bank up to the borders of Sylhet. Gauripur, Rangopalpur, Killah Bokainagar, etc., are famous places in this *pargana*.

3. **Hussenshahi**. It is situated along the eastern Bank of the Brahmaputra, south of the *pargana* of Maminshahi. Area 325.43 square miles. A part of it, in which Hussenpur is the chief station, is known as Joar Hussenpur. This Joar has an area of 136.36 square miles. So the two together are about 462 sq. m. in area.

4. **Barabaju**, 5. **Kagmari**, 6. **Atia**. Originally known as Barabaju, the name appears to have lost its significance and importance with the growing importance of its component parts Atia and Kagmari. The present Tangail Sub-division, leaving the northern portion that belongs to the *pargana* of Pukharia, is almost entirely formed of the three *parganas* of Atia, Kagmari, and Barabaju. Atia is a big *pargana* lying along the southern border of the Mymensing district and sometimes running into the Dacca district as well. In the Mymensing district, its area is 635 square miles while the area in the Dacca district measures 371 acres (Final Report, Dacca, Appendix XVI) or more than half a square mile. There is also a considerable area of Atia in the Pabna district.

The area of Kagmari is 208 square miles, and Barabaju consists of 208 villages on the Mymensing side with an area of about 122 square miles. The greater portion (9 annas) of Barabaju is in the Pabna district. Kagmari and Barabaju are intermixed *parganas*, Barabaju being practically enclosed in Kagmari.

7. **Pukharia**. Situation already discussed. Area of this *pargana* is 437.29 square miles.

8. **Bhawal Baju**. Bhawal Baju proper belonged to the Ghazi zamindars from a period anterior to the rise of Isa Khan. The Bhawal under Isa Khan must be taken as Ran-Bhawal. This *pargana* is bounded on the east by the Brahmaputra, on the south by the Bhawal *pargana* of the Dacca district (the river Banar, known also as the Kaoraid river, runs between Bhawal and Ran-Bhawal), on the north by the *pargana* of Alapsing and on the west by the *pargana* of Atia. Area 318 square miles.

9. **Daskahania or Sherpur**. The Brahmaputra river on the south and west, the Garo Hills on the north and *pargana* Susang on the east bound this *pargana*. Area 789 square miles.

10. **Joanshahi**. It is a big *pargana* between the rivers Dhanu and Meghna, on the eastern border of the Mymensing district. Southwards, it extends to about 4 miles north of the well-known station Bhairab-bazar. Area more than 300 square miles. Astagram, Dhaki, Itna etc., are well-known places in the *pargana*.

11. **Khaliajuri.** Area 130 square miles. The whole is a *bil* area and is situated north of Joanshahi, on both the sides of the Dhanu river. The *pargana* has Sylhet on its north and east, Joanshahi on its south and Nasirujjial on its west.

12. **Singdha.** It is a scattered Tappa in the *parganas* of Maminshahi and Nasirujjial under the present police stations of Barhatta, Atpara and Kendua. When Srikrishna Chaudhuri, the well-known progenitor of the Acharyya-Chaudhuri family of the Mymensing district, took possession of the *pargana* of Maminshahi, he had to fight many pitched battles with the Muslim zamindar of Singdha.

13. **Darji Baju.** Singdha is taken to be a *tappa* of Darjibaju. On the "Pargana Map of the proposed Eastern District" published in the Final Survey Report on Mymensingh, a series of *mahals* running north from the sub-divisional town of Kishorganj are marked as belonging to Darji Baju.

14. **Nasirujjial.** The present Thana of Kendua approximately represents the ancient *pargana* of Nasirujjial. Area 194 sq. miles.

15. **Hazradi.** Area 322 square miles. It begins about 7 miles north of the sub-divisional town of Kishorganj and proceeds south to the bank of the Brahmaputra.

16. **Jafarshahi.** It consists of the entire Jamalpur sub-division, south of the Brahmaputra. It is included in *Sarkar* Ghoraghat in Todar Mal's rent-roll. Area 253 square miles.

17. **Bardakhat.** It is a well-known and spacious *pargana*, lying in the Tippera district and a northern wing of this *pargana* enters the Mymensing district also. **Kurikhai** is a large *Tappa* subordinate to it. This *Tappa* starts from the confluence of the *Meghna* and the Brahmaputra at Bhairabbazar and runs north and west by the river bank and strikes Hazradi. Bhairabbazar is included in **Kurikhai**. The *pargana* of Bardakhat extends for about 36 miles in the Tippera district, south of Bhairabbazar, along the eastern bank of the *Meghna* and is about 12 miles broad. On the north-east of this *pargana* lies *chakla* Roshenabad, the zamindari of the Maharaja of Tippera and farther north, again, is the extensive *pargana* of Sarail.

18. **Sarail.** This *pargana* is also called *Satara-khandal*, though the latter name is at present more often given to a portion of the main *pargana* around the sub-divisional town of Brahmanbaria. Sarail is situated practically between the rivers *Meghna* and *Titas* and is about 26 miles long and 13 miles broad.

19. **Patikara.** The *pargana* perpetuates the memory of the ancient kingdom and town of Pattikera. There is a low range of hills about five miles west of the town of Comilla. The northern portion is known as the Maynamati Hills, and the southern portion Lalmai Hills, and the whole range is about 12 miles long, north and south. Patikara lies to the west of the northern portion of this range and is about 12 miles broad.

20. **Gangamondal.** Immediately north of Patikara and east of the southern portion of Baradakhai.

21. **Sonargaon.** A well-known *pargana* of the Dacca district, lying between the Meghna and the Lakshya rivers. On the east, west and south, the *pargana* has clean river boundaries, but it is not easy to define where its ends in the north and Maheswardi begins. A line drawn eastwards from Dewra on the Lakshya to meet the Meghna would be the approximate boundary between Sonargaon and Maheswardi. The total area recorded is 15,259 acres or about 24 square miles. Tappe Katraba is a big *tappa* under this *pargana*. It lies mainly between the rivers Lakshya and the old bed of the Brahmaputra and is about 3 miles broad and 14 miles long. On the western side of the Lakshya, this *tappa* includes the northern portion of the present town of Narayanganj—including the old fort of Khizirpur. This portion is in the *pargana* of Nasratshahi. The total area of Katraba is recorded as 26,631 acres or about 42 square miles. So it is about double the size of the main *pargana*.

22. **Maheswardi.** This is also situated between the rivers Meghna and Lakshya and it touches Bhairabbazar at its north-eastern corner. The portion of the present Tangi-Bhairabbazar Railway lying between the stations Ghorasal and Bhairabbazar would be its approximate northern boundary, but the *pargana* extends northwards to a considerable distance beyond this line. The course of the old Brahmaputra between Lakhpur and Brahmaputra, which has been wrongly designated as the old bed of the Lakshya river on the survey maps (5) would be a more natural northern boundary for Maheswardi. But I find from the Main Circuit Map of 1859—60 that a considerable area of land south of this river course is included in the Pargana of Bhowal. The area of Maheswardi is recorded as 63,437 acres while 8,642 acres have been classed as *tappa* Maheswardi (Final Report. App. XVI). The entire area, therefore, is about 112 square miles.

Isa Khan certainly did not begin his career as the master of these vast territories, which must have been acquired only gradually. When Abul Fazl, calls Isa Khan 'Ruler of Bhati, he does not signify by the term 'Bhati' all the vast possessions of Isa Khan, as they stood at the height, of his power and glory. The *Parganas* Sarail, Baradakhat, Joanshahi, and Khaliajuri, which saw the rise of Isa Khan have, in all probability, been called Bhati by the author of Akbarnama. The accompanying map will give a clear idea of the extent of the Kingdom of Isa Khan.

ISA KHAN'S FAMILY.

Those whom nature endows with qualities above the common run and on whom fortune smiles, find themselves taken up as heroes of popular

(5) In 1916, when the settlement operations were going on in the Dacca District, I had occasion to point out this mistake to the Settlement Officer, Mr. Ascoli. But he could not be persuaded to correct this mistake. Mr. F. A. Sachse, compiler of the District Gazetteer of Mymensing has also noticed this mistake:—"The dried up bed between Aralia and Lakhpur (Sic. Lakhipur) is wrongly called the Lakshya in the Revenue Maps. This river (i.e., Lakshya) branches off from the Brahmaputra at Lakhpur." Mymensing Gazetteer, 1917, P. 7.

legends in our country even during their lifetime. The greatest obstacle in the way of Akbar's aggressive imperialism in Eastern India, a stubborn fighter for independence to the last of his day, it is no wonder that Isa Khan's career would exert a powerful influence on popular fancy and tales and fables would circulate in the country with Isa Khan as their hero. The village poets took up the theme and composed rustic ballads which, set to music, lighted up the evening hours of the stalwart farmers of Eastern Bengal after their all-day-long hard work in the field under a scorching sun. Many such romantic poems on Isa Khan's wars and love are still current in Eastern Bengal. In the "Pratibha" the Journal of the Dacca Sahitya Parisat, Vol. VII, Aswin, and Karttik, 1324 B.S.P. 252—59, Babu Sudhansu-sekhar Mukhopadhyaya gave extracts from such a poem collected by him at Sonakanda, opposite Narayanganj. Rai Bahadur Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen in Part II, Vol. II of his Mymensing Ballads has published an entire ballad of this nature, entitled "Dewan Isa Khan Masnadali." None of these ballads is very old, and Isa Khan represented in them is the Isa Khan of Legends, not of History. Writing and reading of History is one of the outstanding features of Muslim culture; but unfortunately, this very important feature appears to have been shaken off by Muslim Culture after its entry into Bengal. Powerful independent Sultans arose in Bengal, who were worthy rivals of the emperors of Delhi, and ruled over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa but no Bengalee Historian came forward to record faithfully the events of their reign! For the history of the glorious life-long struggle of Isa Khan for independence, we have to fall back on the accounts of Abul Fazl, Akbar's Court Historian, by no means very favourably disposed towards these eastern 'Rebels.' Bengali writers composed poems on Isa Khan's achievements and recited them to tune to delight the masses. But they left no contemporary record of Isa Khan's doings to satisfy seekers after truth.

Akbarnama, again, is our principal authority for a correct account of the family of Isa Khan. Says Abul Fazl:—"The father of this chief (*bumi*) belonged to the Bais (6) tribe of Rajputs. In that fluviatile region (*i.e.*, Bhati) he continually displayed presumption and refractoriness. In the

(6) These Bais Rajputs are said to belong to Baiswara in Oudh. "The name is given to several tracts of country in various parts of the United Provinces. . . . The most important of these include a number of Parganas (traditionally twenty-two, in the Eastern half of the Unao district, the western half of the Rai Bareilly district and the extreme south of the Lucknow district, with a total area of about 2,000 square miles. The Bais Rajputs first became of importance here in the 13th Century. . . . are supposed to have come from Mungi Patan in the Deccan. . . . the tract has given its name to an eastern dialect of Hindi. . . . Its inhabitants still bear a reputation for bravery." Imperial Gazetteer, under the word, *Baiswara*, 1908, P. 218. Mr. Crooke in his "North-Western Provinces of India" says (P. 86) that the Bais Rajputs came from Rajputana. There is undoubtedly a Baiswara in Rajputana, but it is spelt Banskara in Ain-i-Akbari and Akbarnama. In the former it is included in the Sarkar of Sirohi (II, P. 276) and said to have been ruled by an independent chief of the family of the Rana of Mewar, (II, P. 251). In December, 1576, Akbar camped for some time in Banskara, (A. N. II, P. 277).

time of Salim Khan, Taj Khan and Dariya Khan went to that country with large forces and after many contests he surrendered. In a short while, he again rebelled. They managed by a trick to get hold of him and sent him to the abode of annihilation and sold his two sons Isa and Ismail to merchants. When the cup of Salim Khan's life was full, and Taj Khan became predominant in Bengal, Qutbuddin, the paternal uncle of Isa obtained glory by good service and by making diligent search, brought back both brothers from Turan. Isa acquired fame by his ripe judgment and deliberateness and made the twelve Zamindars of Bengal subject to himself. Out of foresight and cautiousness, he refrained from waiting upon the rulers of Bengal, though he rendered service to them and sent them presents. From a distance, he made use of submissive language." A.N. III, 647.

This account does not tell us the name of Isa Khan's father. His descendants of Haibatnagar and Jangalbari, as-well-as universal tradition throughout the country remember the name as Kalidas Gajdani (7). When Dr. Wise caused inquiries to be made in the Jangalbari family for collecting materials for his account of Isa Khan, he was told that Kalidas married a daughter of Sultan Hussein Shah and thus became a Mussalman. In the *Musnadali Iit hash* subsequently compiled under the patronage of the Jangalbari Zamindars, the Sultan whose daughter Kalidas married has been named as Jala Shah. In the ballad also, printed by Dr. Sen, the Sultan's name is given as Jalaluddin. If there is any truth in the story of Kalidas's becoming Mussalman by marrying the daughter of the reigning Sultan of Bengal, the following chronology will enable us to pick out who this Sultan may be. It is necessary to bear in mind in this connection that Akbarnama places the two rebellions and the death of Isa Khan's father in the reign of Islam Shah.

1493 A.D. Hussein Shah comes to the throne.

1518 A.D. His son Nasrat Shah comes to the throne.

(7) Tradition also says that Kalidas has a brother called Ramdas Gajdani. Some Kayastha families of eastern Mynensing claim Ramdas as their forefather. Babu Jaychandra Mahadana-bis, the well-known compiler of some drawing books, is one of such claimants. Portions of his letter on the subject is quoted in translation below :—

"I am communicating to you what I have heard from my father and grand-father.

'Ramdas Gajdani and Kalidas Gajdani are two brothers. The elder Ramdas was a high officer (Dewan) of the Badshaha. He used to give away [golden effigies of] elephants in daily worship and thus acquired the name of Gajdani (i.e., the giver of elephants). After some time, they incurred the displeasure of the Badshaha and had to fly from the country with their family. They migrated to Haripur in the Birbhum district with their family preceptor, but as Haripur did not prove an asylum safe enough, they settled the preceptor there and themselves moved on to Kettaba in the Pargana of Maheswardi in the Dacca district. (I cannot find the name in the Village Directory of the Dacca District. Villages with nearest sounding names are 'Katabar,' about two miles north-east from Ghorasal on the Tangi-Bhairab-bazar Railway; and 'Kesraba' about 4 miles north-east of the well-known village of Murapara on the Lakshya. On the east of Kesraba is Duptara, another well-known village, N. K. B.). But even this place did not give complete safety. Both the brothers Kalidas and Ramdas looked alike and were very good looking persons. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Ramdas and when Ramdas's place of refuge was discovered after some search, Kalidas was mistaken for Ramdas and arrested and taken to Delhi. Thereupon, Ramdas left Kettaba and fixed his

- 1532 A.D. Nasrat's son Alauddin Firoz Shah came to the throne.
- 1532 A.D. Nasrat's brother Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah comes to the throne. There are evidences to show that Mahmud Shah came to the throne, some years earlier in 933H=1526 A.D. and shared the kingdom with his brother Nasrat before attaining full sovereignty in 1532.
- 1537 A.D. Sher Khan's invasion of Bengal and siege of Gaur.
- 1538 A.D. Defeat and flight of Mahmud Shah who takes shelter with Humayun and dies.
- 1540 A.D. Sher Shah Emperor of India.
- 1545 A.D. Islam Shah Emperor of India. Sulaiman Karrani sent to govern Bihar and Muhammad Khan Sur to govern Bengal.
- 1552 A.D. Death of Islam Shah. Muhammad Adil usurps the throne.
- 1552 A.D. Muhammad Khan Sur in Bengal declares independence under the title of Muhammad Shah Ghazi.
- 1555 A.D. Battle with Adil, defeat and death. Taj Khan Karrani, an *Omrâh* of Adil's Court and brother of Sulaiman Karrani, flies from the Court of Adil.
- 1554 A.D. Bahadur succeeds Muhammad Shah Ghazi and fights Adil with the help of the Karranis. Defeat and death of Adil.
- 1560 A.D. Death of Bahadur Shah. His brother Jalal Shah succeeds.
- 1563 A.D. Death of Jalal Shah. Sulaiman Karrani supreme in Bengal and Bihar.
- 1563-64 A.D. Taj Khan governs Bengal as his brother's representative. Death of Taj Khan. Sulaiman unites Bengal and Bihar under one rule and removes the capital from Bihar to Bengal.

abode at Khagaria in pargana Nasirujjal of district Mymensing. I am 16th in descent from Ramdas. It is said that Kalidas accepted Islam at Delhi and remained there, after having married the daughter of the Badshah. . . . His son is Isa Khan. Isa Khan conquered Bengal and fixed his abode at Jangalburi, in the Kishorganj Sub-Division of the Mymensing district.

"When Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutta was the Magistrate of Mymensing, he expressed his regret that there was no written history of a hero like Isa Khan and he asked [his descendants] to write a history of Isa Khan. On this the history of Isa Khan was written without mentioning Ramdas and with the names of only the descendants of Kalidas. Before this, the Dewansahibs of Jangalburi unhesitatingly admitted the common source of their family and ours and this fact was also known to all old people." *Sd./ Jaychandra Mahalanabis.*

Akbarnama also says that Isa Khan's father (Kalidas) rebelled and created troubles in the fluviatile regions of Bhâti. Nasirujjal is immediately to the west of Khaliājuri.

It is said that, on his conversion, Kalidas became known as Sulaiman Khan. Akbarnama speaks of Utabuddin, another brother of Isa Khan's father, who was instrumental in rescuing Isa and Ismail. So, it would appear that they were three brothers, two of whom accepted Islam.

In an article, *Gajdani Bansa* by Babu Ramkrishnadas Mahalanabis, published in the *Kayastha Patrika* for *Ashadha*, 1322 B.S., the writer tries to make out the identity of the famous Kalapahad and Kalidas, which is clearly impossible. This article speaks of Kalidas as the elder brother. The village of I hæguria and the adjacent village of Kaitail, which is the seat of the family of the famous Purnananda, the *Gurus* of the Gajdanis, are about 5 miles north-east of P. S. Kendua.

Oct. 1572 A.D. Death of Sulaiman Karrani (A.N. III, P. 6 f.n.).

End of 1575 A.D. Isa Khan is powerful enough to attack the Mughal Nawara in Bengal, on which the Mughal admiral considers it discreet to retire from East Bengal.

The chronology compiled above will show that Islam Shah ruled from 1545 A.D. to 1552 A.D. and Kalidas's two revolts and death and the sale of Isa Khan and his brother as slaves have to be placed within these seven years. The reign of Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah came several years after these events and thus the possibility of Kalidas's marrying Jalal Shah's daughter does not arise.

What led Kalidas to rebel again and again in the reign of Islam Shah? From his repeated rebellions, it appears as if he had particular animosity against the reigning family. Sher Shah became master of Bengal after ousting Sultan Mahmud Shah, the last of the Husseini Sultans. This took place in 1538 A.D. Rebellion or insubordination was inopportune during the vigorous rule of Sher Shah up to 1545 A.D. Kalidas's rebellion came in the next and comparatively weaker reign of Islam Shah. The rebellion of Kalidas looks like an attempt to re-establish the lost political power of the Husseini dynasty ousted by Sher Shah. Jalal Shah whose daughter Kalidas is represented in the ballads to have married had Ghiyasuddin as his first name. Mahmud Shah also had Ghiyasuddin as his first name. We have seen above that Jalal Shah cannot be thought of as the Sultan whose daughter Kalidas may have married. The only Ghiyasuddin *before Islam Shah* who had a reign long enough and who came only a few years before Islam Shah is Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah and possibly he was the father-in-law of Kalidas. With the massacre of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah's sons by the son of Sher Shah after the capture of Gaur, Kalidas, as the husband of a daughter of Mahmud Shah, possibly considered himself *de jure* successor to the Kingdom of Mahmud Shah and as such entitled to rebel against the usurping family.

After the death of Sultan Hussein Shah, his son Nasrat became the King of Bengal. His coins testify to the fact that he reigned up to 1532 A.D. After his death his infant son Firoz Shah succeeded and reigned for a few months, ousting whom, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah, another son of Hussein Shah became the King of Bengal. But it is very curious to note that coins of Mahmud Shah begin to appear from 1526 A.D., six years before the end of the reign of Nasrat Shah. These coins of Mahmud Shah have been found in large numbers, particularly from Eastern Bengal. This last chapter of the rule of the Husseini Kings of Bengal is still enveloped in darkness and will have to be written afresh. The evidence of coins would suggest that in the latter years of Nasrat Shah's reign, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah succeeded in establishing himself as a rival King in the eastern districts of Bengal and the hitherto inexplicable expression "Badarshahi" (Plate. No. 5) on the coins of Mahmud Shah also favours this supposition, though I must reserve a full explanation of this mysterious nomenclature for a subsequent contribution. In the light of these suggestions and explanations, the

rebellion of Kalidas would appear in the light of the rightful heir of Mahmud Shah attempting to re-establish the fallen fortunes of the family.

There are materials to show that the rebellion of Kalidas does not stand alone,—that two more attempts were made even during the rule of a *Zabardust* emperor like Sher Shah. Sher Shah left Khizir Khan as his representative to govern Bengal and himself proceeded to north-western India to carry on his wars. Khizir Khan, in the meantime married a daughter of Mahmud Shah, the late Sultan of Bengal and began to give independent airs. It has been narrated in a previous chapter how the news of the disaffection of Khizir Khan reached Sher Shah when he was fighting the Gukkars on the north-western extremity of India, and how he hurried on to Bengal and put down the disaffection with a stern hand before Khizir Khan could make any effective move. This event happened in 1541 A.D.

But that the rebels did not lose heart, with the imprisonment of Khizir Khan will appear from two curious coins found in the company of genuine coins of this period. One of the coins was found at Jasodal under the Kishorganj Sub-division of Mymensing district in a find of large number of coins of this period. This coin has been described and illustrated as No. 239 in Vol. II, of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, P. 182. (See also J. A. S. B. 1910, P. 150). The other coin, exactly like the first one, was found in the village of Sonakhira in Sylhet. This coin has been described (but not illustrated) as No. 24, on page 160 of the second volume of the Catalogue of Coins in the Shillong Coin Cabinet. The inscription on the latter clearly reads:—“*Barbak-ul-dunia-uddin Abul Muzaffar Barbak Shah ibn Humayun Shah Khalid-ullah Mulkh O Sultanat*,” i.e., ‘Barbak-uddiniyauddin Abul Muzaffar Barbak Shah, son of Humayun Shah; may God protect his Kingdom and Rule.’ The date is clearly 949 H. or 1542 A.D. (Plate, No. 2). On the first coin 94—of the date are clear, but the last figure has been cut off. These two coins do not appear to be of the same die, and when at least two coins of this variety have reached us in the company of genuine coins, many more must have been minted and circulated in the country. These two coins are mute but eloquent witnesses of the fact that directly after Khizir Khan’s disaffection had been nipped in the bud by the vigour of Sher Shah, the rebels had the boldness to retire to the fluvial regions of eastern Mymensing and Sylhet, to set up a puppet prince as the son of Humayun who had fled from India and even to mint coins in his name! The rebellion of Kalidas exactly in the same region some years later shows that this difficult region was the stronghold of the disaffected Afghans and adherents of the ousted Husseini dynasty and probably Kalidas, like Khizir Khan, was only attempting to justify his alliance with Mahmud Shah’s daughter by asserting his claim to the Kingdom of his father-in-law.

Akbarnama places the rebellion of Kalidas in the reign of Islam Shah. Islam Shah came to the throne of India in 1545 A.D. He appointed Sulaiman Karrani to the Governorship of Bihar and Muhammad Khan Sur to that of Bengal. The rebellion of Kalidas is likely to have come soon after

the removal of the vigorous hands of Sher Shah and may thus be placed in 1546 or 1547 A.D. The fall of Kalidas and the sale of his sons Ismail and Isa as slaves may be dated in 1548 A.D. These boys are likely to have been not more than 10 or 12 years of age at the time when these reverses of fortune overtook them (8). Taj Khan Karrani ruled over Bengal during 1563-64. Isa Khan's uncle Kutabuddin recovered his two nephews during this period and Isa Khan was at this time a grown up young man of 27 or 28. Isa Khan was undoubtedly a man of uncommon genius. Taking his stand on and using as his base his ancestral properties, he rapidly rose to power and fame and by 1575 A.D., only 11 years after his recovery from Turan, he was powerful enough to engage the Imperial Nawara on equal terms and to be regarded as one of the 'Bhuiyans of Bengal.'

Rai Bahadur Dr. D. C. Sen, in the preface to his "Mymensing Ballads" was the first to draw our attention to the valuable information regarding the early career of Isa Khan contained in the *Rajmala*, the chronicle of Tippera, and has thus earned the gratitude of all students of Bengal History. As the history of Tippera of this period is intimately connected with the contemporary history of Bengal, we compile below a brief outline of the history of Tippera of this period.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF TIPPERA.

We shall begin with Bijaya Manikya, the King mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. He ascended the throne in 1462 *Saka* i.e., 1540 A.D. (9).

(8) According to this calculation, Isa Khan was born in or about the year 1536 A.D., in the latter part of the reign of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah. If Kalidas had really married one of the daughters of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah, the birth of Isa Khan about 1536 A.D. in the latter part of his reign is very possible. He was, according to this ascription, 64 years of age at the time of his death in 1599 A.D.

(9) This date is nowhere expressly recorded in the *Rajmala*. It is arrived at in the following way:—

The following passage occurs on page 129 of Chandrakaya Vidyavinod's edition of the *Rajmala*:

যুবক হইল রাজা সোড়শ বৎসরে ।
রাজনীতি কল্প দৈত্য নারায়ণের ঘরে ॥

I suspect, the expression "দৈত্য নারায়ণের ঘরে" in the second line is a mistake for "দৈত্য নারায়ণের করে" Assuming the second is the correct form of the expression—the passage is translated thus:—

"A young man the King became in his sixteenth year;

"The political functions were discharged by Daityanarayan.

This is a description of the King immediately after his accession to the throne. So Bijay may be assumed to have come to the throne about his sixteenth year. His younger brother Indra Manikya was put on the throne even before him, ousting whom he had to occupy the throne.

Now, compare the following passage occurring on page 158:—

সেইকালে নুপে পাতে পুত্র সমপিল ।
সাতচল্লিশ বৎসে নুপের বয়স হইয়াছিল ॥
সাতচল্লিশ বৎস রাজা রাজ্য ভোগ করে ।
দৈবগতি বসন্ত নুপের হইল শরীরে ॥

He had to engage in a war with the King of Jayantia, immediately on his accession. In order to signify his contempt for the little Kingdom of Jayantia, he gathered together an army of scavengers and sent them on to conquer Jayantia. At last peace was made through the mediation of the King of Kachhar. The Jayantia war may be dated in 1541 A.D. Bijay next turned his attention to the conquest of Chittagong, but his cavalry, which consisted mostly of Pathan Mussalmans, mutinied and attempted to effect a union with the Pathans in the employ of the Sultan of Bengal. Bijay, thereupon made them prisoners and had them sacrificed before the famous Fourteen Gods, the tutelary deities of the Tippera Raj. This injudicious destruction of the cavalry of Tippera enabled the Sultan of Bengal to effect the conquest of Chittagong soon after, without much difficulty. There is no means of ascertaining the exact date of this event, but it happened, without doubt between 1543 and 1559 A.D. During this period, Bengal was successively under Muhammad Shah Sur, and his sons Bahadur Shah and Jalal Shah. Bijay however, succeeded in recovering Chittagong from the hands of the Mussalmans. Mamarak Khan, the Commander of the forces of the Sultan of Bengal, was captured and sacrificed before the Fourteen Gods. Bengal, during this period, was passing through troublous times. Muhammad Shah Sur was killed in a fight with Adil Shah of Delhi. Adil, again, lost his life in a battle with Bahadur Shah, son of Muhammad Shah Sur. Taking advantage of this disturbed condition of Bengal, Bijay Manikya undertook a daring raid in Eastern Bengal. He got together a flotilla of 5,000 war-boats and a large army and came to the banks of the old Brahmaputra. He bathed in the holy river and gave away one thousand golden banners. Proceeding up-stream, he bought five *dronas* of land from the Zamindar of the place and gave them in *Brahmottara* to a Brahmin. This place is still known as Panchdona and it is a well-known village standing on the old Brahmaputra in the Maheswardi *pargana* of the Dacca district. In old documents, the *Taluks* of Panchdona are still designated as 'Taluk Tripurapati.' But the name of Bijay Manikya,

Translation :—

"The King, at that time committed his son to the care of his minister.

"His age was forty-seven (at that time).

"His enjoyed sovereignty up to the forty-seventh year of his life.

"As fate would have it, small-pox appeared on his body.

As the King died in his forty-seventh year, the third line has to be translated, as has been rendered above, and not by—"He enjoyed sovereignty *for* forty-seven years", as the description of his accession to the throne does not leave the impression that he came to the throne at the *first* year of his age. So these two passages taken together yield this fact that the King came to the throne about his 16th year and died at the age of 47. So he had a reign of about 31 years. After the death of Bijay, his son Ananta Manikya reigned for a year and a half. Ananta's father-in-law had Ananta assassinated in 1494 Saka., and himself ascended the throne under the title of Uday Manikya in the same year. (*Rajmala*, P. 165). Here at last we have got a date from which we can now calculate back. Death of Ananta in 1494 Saka. minus a year and a half, gives us 1493 Saka., for the death of Bijay. Minus 31 gives us 1462 Saka as the year of the accession of Bijay.

the original donor, has been completely forgotten. The gift is ascribed in local tradition to a general of a King of Tippera (10).

Fortunately the date of this East Bengal campaign of Bijay Manikya can be ascertained with precision. *Rajmala* states that after bathing in the Brahmaputra, Bijay minted coins to commemorate the event, with commemorative legends. In a similar manner, coins were minted after bathing in the Lakhya river. One coin of the latter class has actually been found. This coin was among the Tippera State-collection of coins at Agartala. I found a reading of this coin with Babu Kaliprasanna Sen Gupta, the editor of the New Edition of the *Rajmala* which is being published at State expenses. This coin is dated in 1481 *saka* 1559 A.D. and the legend on the obverse reads:—

লক্ষ্যায়ী ত্রীত্রিবিজয়-মানিক্য দেবঃ (i.e. The doubly illustrious Bijaya Manikya Deva, who bathed in the Lakhya).

The issue of coins to commemorate important events was also a feature of the reign of Amar-Manikya, a subsequent King.

This 1559 A.D. is an eventful year in the history of Bengal. Bahadur Shah who had inherited the throne of Bengal from his father fallen in battle with Adil, had fought the latter in his turn and killed him and was now fighting the Governor whom Adil had sent to govern Bengal. It was at this juncture, when the country was passing through an upheaval, that Bijay visited Eastern Bengal and had his successes. After bathing in the Lakhya, he came down to the Padma by the Ichhamati river and finally turned back from the banks of the Padma after having indulged in various excesses in the *parganas* of Bikrampur and Sonargaon. He went to Kaliagar (present Kasba and its vicinity) with his army and then marched on to the *parganas* of Panchakhanda and Ita of Sylhet and finally returned to his capital, after having visited the holy place of Unakoti on the way. The *Rajmala* records no further activity of Bijay Manikya. He died of pox in 1571 A. D.

After Bijaya's death, his son Ananta Manikya ruled for a year-and-a-half. In 1494 *Saka* or 1572 A.D., Ananta's father-in-law and guardian had him assassinated and himself ascended the throne with the name of Udaya Manikya. It was during his reign that the name of the Capital was changed from Rangamti into Udaypur. This year, Sulaiman Karrani died and was succeeded by Bayazid and then Daud. Chittagong was a bone of bitter contention at this time between the Bengal Sultan and the King of Tippera. The forces of the Sultan of Bengal were attacked on their way to Chittagong by the army of Tippera, but the latter suffered a bad defeat. The army of Bengal was under the command of two generals called Piroj Khan Anni and Jamal Khan Panni and they again defeated the forces of Tippera at the fort of Meharkul, near modern Comilla. After five years of incessant fighting in this way, Udaya Manikya died in 1576 A.D.

(10) *Vide* an article by Pandit Mahimchandra Nandi in the Pratibha, the Journal of the Dacca Sahitya Parisat, Vol. IV, Page 243, viz:—"Dewan Darpanarayan of Panchdona."

Daud also was beheaded this year after the battle of Rajmahal. In 1499 *Saka* or 1577 A.D., Amara Manikya, half-brother of Bijaya Manikya ascended the throne of Tippera. This year of accession is recorded in the *Rajmala* (Page 186) and has also been corroborated by a coin of Amara Manikya in the possession of Prince Brajendrakishor Dev-varmman of Agartala (11). The coin-legend reads:—*শ্রীশ্রীযুতামরমণিক্য দেবঃ শ্রীঅমরাবতী মহাদেবোঃ শক ১৪৯৯*। (i.e. The doubly illustrious Amara Manikya Deva and the Queen-consort-Amaravati. *Saka* 1499). (Plate. No. 3).

The history of the rise of Isa Khan is intimately connected with King Amara Manikya of Tippera. The part of the *Rajmala* which records the events of the reign of Amara Manikya is regarded as included in the *Old Rajmala*. The prefatory opening verse of the next section characterises the *Old Rajmala* as follows:—

পুরাতন রাজমালা আছিল রচিত ।
 প্রসঙ্গেতে অলঙ্ঘিক ভাষা যে কুংসিত ।
 পূর্ব-প্রসঙ্গ পরে, পর পূর্বের কত ।
 সেইত কারণে লোক নাহি বুঝে যত ।
 রাজমালা, ২৭১ পৃষ্ঠা ।

Translation:—

“The old *Rajmala* was composed in uncouth language and the subjects were also dealt with in a confused manner. Many subjects of subsequent dates were dealt with before many of previous dates. Thus people found difficulty in understanding it.”

This is the reason why similar chronological confusion is to be found in the narration of events of Amara Manikya's reign in the *Rajmala*. Below, we compile a right chronology of the events of Amara Manikya's reign, as we have understood it.

Saka 1499. } Amara comes to the throne.
 A.D. 1577. }

1578 A.D. Invasion of Bhulua (present Noakhali) and defeat of its King Gandharbhanarayan. Invasion of Bacla (Backarganj) and death of its King Kandarppanarayan.

1578 A.D. An Omrah (Mughal General) from Delhi invades Bengal. (This evidently refers to the 1578 A.D. campaign of Khan Jahan). Defeated at Sarail, Isa Khan falls back on Tippera and implores assistance from Amara Manikya. Isa Khan drinks the washing of the Queen's breast and is thus regarded as a son by the King and the queen of Tippera. Isa Khan is honoured with presents and is given the title of Masnad-i-Ali. An army of Tippera advances into Sarail to help Isa Khan. The army of Delhi retires at the news.

(11) I found a reading of this coin with Babu Kaliprasanna Sen Gupta, Editor of the New State edition of the *Rajmala*. Babu Brajendra Kumar Chatterjee, Revenue Minister of Tippera, saw Prince Brajendra Kishore on my behalf and obtained a rubbing of the coin for me. My grateful thanks are due to all the three gentlemen.

1578 A.D.—1580 A.D. The excavation of the tank Amara-Sagara. On the request of Amara Manikya, the following Zamindars of Eastern Bengal helped him by sending labourers. The number of labourers sent by each is noted against their names:—

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|-------|
| 1. Chand Roy, of Bikrampur ... | ... | ... | 700 |
| 2. The Basu Zamindar of Bacla ... | ... | ... | 700 |
| 3. The Ghazi of Salai-Goalpara ... | ... | ... | 700 |
| 4. Zamindar of Bhawal (Ghazi?) ... | ... | .. | 1,000 |
| 5. Zamindar of Astagram ... | ... | ... | 500 |
| 6. Zamindar of Bariachong ... | ... | .. | 500 |
| 7. Zamindar of Ran-Bhowal ... | ... | .. | 1,000 |
| 8. Isa Khan of Sarail ... | ... | .. | 1,000 |
| 9. Zamindar of Bhulua ... | ... | ... | 1,000 |
| Total | | | 7,100 |

Says the *Rajmala* :—

ত্রিপুরা রাজ্যের আমল বঙ্গদেশ যত ।

* * *

কেহ ভয়ে, কেহ প্রীতে, কেহ মাগ্রে দিল ।

বার বাঙ্গালায় দিছে তরপে না দিল ।

Translation:—

The influence of the King of Tippera extended over the whole of Eastern Bengal. Thus the labourers were sent by some out of fear, by others out of love, and by some out of respect. The Twelve Bengals (*i.e.*, The Bara-Bhuiyans) sent labourers, but not the Zamindar of Taraf.

The list compiled above gives a good idea of the principal Zamindars of Eastern Bengal at the time, and the passage translated above shows their relationship with the King of Tippera. It is to be noted that Isa Khan, at this stage is known as Isa Khan of Sarail. This well-known *pargana* occupies the extreme northern corner of the present Tippera district, and lies along the Meghna river. On the other side of the Meghna lies the *pargana* of Joanshahi of the Mymensingh district. The account of first clash of Khan Jahar with Isa Khan, as recorded in the Akbarnama, will also show that the fighting took place here on both the banks of the Meghna.

1503 *Saka*, 1581 A.D. Amara Manikya invades Taraf and brings its Pathan Zamindar Fateh Khan a Captive to Udaipur. In this war, Isa Khan was in charge of the royal flotilla. Prince Brajendra Kishor Deva-Varmman of Agartala has a coin of Amar Manikya in his possession which commemorates the conquest of Sylhet (Taraf) by Amara Manikya. The legend reads:—

“দ্বিহস্তবিজয়ীত্রিযুতামরমাণিক্যদেব ত্রিযমরাবতী দেবোঃ, শক ১৫০৩ ”

(*i.e.* The doubly illustrious Amara Manikya Deva, conqueror of Sylhet and Queen Amaravati, *Saka*, (1503 Plate. No. 4.)

Rajmala records that Fateh Khan was brought to Udaypur by the end of *Paus* in 1504 *Saka*, by prince Rajadhara.

1585 A.D. Amara Manikya falls dangerously ill, but recovers.

1585 A.D. War with Arrakan. The Tippera army occupies Chittagong and Ramu. The Firingis join the Arrakanese. Tippera army defeated at Ramu and driven across the Karnafuli river, to seek shelter on its northern bank.

1586 A.D. Sikandar Shah, King of Arrakan (Acc. 1571 A.D.) invades Tippera and occupies Chittagong. The Tippera army defeated and prince Jujhar killed on the Tippera side. Amara Manikya himself goes out to check the progress of Sikandar Shah and is defeated. The Arrakanese overrun Tippera and plunder Udaypur. Amara Manikya commits suicide. Rajadhara ascends the throne of Tippera.

There is a coin of Rajadhara dated 1508 *saka* = 1586 A.D. in the Dacca Museum Cabinet. (Plate. No. 6.)

We are not at present concerned with the events of the last few years of the reign of Amara Manikya. But they are so many lost pages of the history of Arrakan and are to be found neither in Phayre's History of Burma, nor in a fresh book on the same subject by Mr. Harvey. So I make no apology for recording these events in outline above. In a subsequent chapter, when dealing with the Bengal campaigns of Shahbaz Khan, we shall have occasion to refer to this grim struggle of the Tipras and the Arrakanese.

As already noticed, the scene of the struggle between Khan Jahan and Isa Khan was the Meghna river, the demarcation between the *parganas* of Sarail and Joanshahi. Akbarnama gives Kastal or Kastail as the name of the place where a decisive engagement took place (Akbarnama III, p. 377). This place is undoubtedly to be identified with Kastul, or Kaitail, as it is commonly called. It is situated a little to the south-west of Astagram, a well-known place on the Meghna. Defeated at the battle of Kastul, Isa Khan had to seek the aid of Amar Manikya of Tippera. Says the *Rajmala*:—

(Trans.) After some days, a disturbance occurred in East Bengal. An Omrah of Delhi suddenly appeared there with an army. Isa Khan broke and fled from Sarail. He came to see the King of Tippera by the Meharkul route. On an auspicious day, he saw the King. He said with folded hands before the King, "Omrahs from Delhi had invaded Sarail. Do save me by helping me with your forces."

Rajmala, p. 191.

So *Rajmala* and Akbarnama agree in placing the scene of action in the same locality. The fact that the *Rajmala* designates Isa Khan as "Isa Khan of Sarail" taken together with the account of the Akbarnama that Khan Jahan met Isa Khan at Kastul on the borders of Sarail would show that Isa Khan first rose in Sarail. That the Pargana of Joanshahi was under a different ruler at this time would appear from the fact that its Zamindar is recorded in the *Rajmala* to have sent 500 labourers to dig the Amar-Sagar.

Who gave Isa Khan the title Masnad-i-Ali, spelt মাসনাদালি (Masnadalvi) on his cannon inscription, now in the Dacca Museum? Tradition is unanimous in saying that it was the great emperor Akbar who gave Isa Khan this title. But that this was not so,—that Isa Khan bore this title from a time long before the period when tradition makes him go to Delhi to win this title from Akbar,—has been guessed by a few historians, notably by Khan Bahadur Aulad Hasan (12). Titles like these were very common among the Afghan nobilities of the period. Sulaiman Karrani had the title of Hazrat-i-Ala. Sher Shah himself took the title of Hazrat-i-Ala, before he became emperor. Sulaiman Karrani's brother Tajkhan Karrani who ruled Bengal for a year or two had the title of Masnad-i-Ali. (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Vol. IV, p. 188). The late lamented Babu Mahendranath Karan, in the 9th Chapter of his excellent book—'Hijlir Masnad-i-Ala,' has noticed some other Masnad-i-Ali's of the period. In fact, any Afghan chief of this period who rose to power assumed titles like these. As regards Isa Khan's title of Masnad-i-Ali, when the *Rajmala* expressly states that the title was given to him by Amara Manikya, I do not see why the statement should be disbelieved (13). No one can seriously contend that a powerful and independent King like Amar Manikya had not authority or power enough to confer a title on an Afghan protege.

The title of 'Dewan' which became hereditary in the family of Isa Khan is not to be found in the inscription on his cannon, now in the Dacca Museum. He is called only 'Masnadalvi' there. 'Dewan' appears to have been inherited from his father. We have discussed at length all matters in connection with the rise of Isa Khan. Let us now follow him in his first serious clash with the Mughals.

KHAN JAHAN'S CLASH WITH ISA KHAN.

It was found by the end of 1578 A.D. that two Afghan Chiefs named Ibrahim Naral and Karimdad Musazai had leagued themselves with Isa Khan and were raising the standard of rebellion in Bhati. Akbarnama does not record any detail regarding these two chiefs. It appears, however, that they were Zamindars of localities near Bhawal. During this period, the

(12) "The balance of probabilities, therefore, lies in favour of the theory that the guns were cast before the battle (i.e., the battle with Manasimha, defeated in which, Isa Khan is believed to have been taken to Delhi and given the Sanad for 22 parganas and the title of Masnad-i-Ali, N.K.B.) and that Isa Khan possessed the titles of Dewan and Masnad-i-Ali then. . . . The title of Masnad-i-Ali must have been assumed by Isa Khan on his declaring his independence, just as the title of Hazrat-i-Ali was assumed by one of his predecessors, Sulaiman Karrani." *Dacca Review*, 1911, P. 222.

(13) ইছাখাঁয়ে সেইকালে মনে বিবেচিল। মহারাজি এতি সেই মাতৃ সৰোথিল ॥
 রাণী শুন খোত জল ইছাখাঁ খাইল। মহারাজি পুত্রতুলা তাকে সেই কৈল ॥
 সেই কারণ হৈল ইছাখাঁর তরে। ইছাখাঁ মচলমানি খ্যাতি দিল পরে ॥
 ইছাখাঁর এতি রাণী রাজাতে কহিল। মহারাজা সৈন্ত দিতে তাকে আদেশিল ॥

* * * * *

তদবধি ইছাখাঁর মচলমানি খ্যাতি। সৈন্ত সমে বিদার হৈরা গেল শীঘ্রগতি ॥

রাজমালা, ১৯২ পৃষ্ঠা।

parganas of Bhawal, Talepabad, Selimpratap, Chandpratap, and Sultan pratap, which form the northern half of the present Dacca district, were under the Ghazis. Ibrahim Naral and Karimdad Musazai have, therefore, to be placed in the *parganas* of Sonargaon and Maheswardi. It is very strange to record that the rebels succeeded in drawing Shah Bardi, the admiral of the Imperial Nawara to their side!

The situation was serious and Khan Jahan had to hurry out of Tanda with his army. At Goas (14) on the way, Daud's mother Naulaka came with her whole family and took shelter with Khan Jahan.

The Afghan chief Mati has been referred to above. As already recorded, Mati had got hold of the choice treasures of Daud and so Daud's mother Naulaka entertained no friendly feeling towards him. Mati also at this time came and submitted to Khan Jahan. Thereupon Naulaka brought serious charges against Mati. Khan Jahan willingly listened to these charges and Mati was beheaded. Abul Fazl's observations in this connection are interesting:—"A dispute arose between Naulaka and Mati. Khan Jahan who wanted to send him to annihilation put him to death, ostensibly in order that he might be punished for the charge of fraud which was brought against him, but also that the properties seized might remain concealed." A.N. III, P. 376.

The Mughal army gradually advanced into Eastern Bengal. Shah Bardi now repented and rejoined the Imperial forces. When Khan Jahan encamped in the town of Bhowal. (15) Ibrahim Naral, Karimdad Musazai and some other disaffected Afghans came to Khan Jahan and submitted. But not so Isa Khan, whose proud head remained as erect as ever. Thereupon, a large army and flotilla under Muhammad Kuli and Shah Bardi

(14) Goas is a *pargana* of the district of Murshidabad. A small town called Goas, marked on Rennel's atlas is the headquarters of the *pargana*. The public road by the south bank of the Ganges runs past Goas. Goas is 13 or 14 miles direct east of Murshidabad and is about 35 miles south-east of Tanda.

(15) According to Beveridge, this is Ran-Bhowal of Dacca District. This identification is not correct. First, Ran-Bhowal is a *pargana* principally belonging to Mymensing district. The retreat of Khan Jahan after his disastrous encounter with the Bhuiyans over the *pargana* of Talepabad raises the presumption that he came also by that way. That way leads more easily to Bhowal than to the jungly Ran-Bhowal. The Ghazis of Bhowal had their headquarters at Chaura on the right bank of Lakshya, adjacent to present Kaliganj, a well-known place. Taylor in his Topography of Dacca identifies the town of Bhowal with modern Nagari, a noted native-christian settlement. (Topography of Dacca P. 110). Nagari is about five miles south-west of Kaliganj. The place where Rennel, (1783 A.D.) on sheet No. 6 of his Bengal Atlas, shows the town of Bhowal, appears to be identical with Nagari. But in 1578 A.D. Nagari had not come into existence. The rise of Nagari is placed by some in 1664 A.D., while another authority says that it began to be important through the settlement of a large number of native-christians in 1695 A.D. (Mr. H. E. Stapleton, in J. A. S. B., 1922, P. 50 f. n. 3 and page 51, para 1, *Vide* also. "History of the Portuguese in Bengal, by J. A. Campos, P. 248).

Chaura (local people pronounce the name as Chaira) is only a mile direct north of Kaliganj and is only half-a-mile north of the Tangi-Bhairab Railway line,—about a mile and a half north-east of Station Arikhola on the line. Curiously Chaura is not shown on the newest Thana map of Kaliganj, and the big tank at Chaura has been shown as included

started for the fastnesses of Isa Khan. The Imperial Nawara possibly rowed up the Lakshya and reached Egarasindur through the old Brahmaputra, past Lakhpur. Egarasindur stands on the eastern bank of the main stream of the Brahmaputra, just in front of the place on the western bank from which starts the river Banar. The correct form of the name is Egarasindhu, meaning 'Eleven rivers' and a number of rivers did really meet at this place. More than eleven streams can even now be counted on the modern 1 inch=4 miles map of the Mymensing district. Isa Khan subsequently erected a strong fort at this strategic point, the ruins of which the present writer visited and described in 1915, a portion of which description is quoted below (16).

Falling into the Brahmaputra at Egarasindur, the Imperial Nawara reached the Meghna at Bhairabbazar and then proceeded up the Meghna towards Sarail, the seat of Isa Khan. At Kastul, commonly called Kaitail, two miles west of Astagram and on the Dhaleswari, a branch of the Meghna, Isa Khan opposed the advance of the Imperial forces. At this time Isa Khan was only a petty Zamindar, with limited resources, and was surely no match for an open encounter with the Imperial party. He was defeated and he retreated westwards. He found that, alone, he was no match for the Mughals and he, as already narrated, went to seek the aid of the King of Tippera against them. Leaving his army behind, he went to Udaipur by the Mehar-kul route. No one in those days would have lightly undertaken a quarrel with a powerful emperor like Akbar. As this Mughal move was mainly directed against the Afghan confederacy of Eastern Bengal, the Hindu King of Tippera had practically no interest in engaging in the struggle against the Mughals. It therefore speaks volumes for the diplomatic talents of Isa Khan that he succeeded in securing aid from the King of Tippera. The ministers of Amara Manikya were clearly opposed to the step and dissuaded the King from joining in the struggle against the Mughals. Two Afghan Captains, Taj Khan and Baj Khan by name, were in the service of the King of

in the village of Baranagar. Babu Kalibhushan Mukherjee, who was for a long time a Naib of the Bhowal Raj at Kaliganj writes in an article entitled—*Bhowaler Ghazi-Bansa* (*Dacca Review* and *Sammilan*, Agrahayana, 1321, B.S., P. 253) that Baranagar is the name of a village close to Chaura. Close to Chaura, again, is the village of Chandaia and in ordinary conversation, these two villages are often referred to under the joint name of Chaira-Chandaia.

(16) "The fort of Egarasindur must have commanded a very strong position when the Brahmaputra flowed below its ramparts. The Brahmaputra has dried up to the narrowness of a canal, and nearly the whole of the old river-bed, which is more than a mile broad, is now under cultivation. But the grandeur of the position of Egarasindur can still be seen at a glance, if one stands on the citadel of the fort. Occupying the apex of the angular piece of land formed by the sharp bend of the Brahmaputra, it was almost unassailable, when the river was full. The now-dried-up channel called the Sankha river, whose old bed can still be seen near Shahjahan's mosque, also afforded protection. The earthen rampart of the fort still stands about 8 ft. high in places and the *buruz* and the gateway still show traces of masonry construction. . . . The town of Egarasindur must have been a considerable one at the time of its highest prosperity. Toke, on the opposite side, was a big mart, and seems to have been to Egarasindur what Howrah now is to Calcutta."

"Notes on Antiquarian remains on the Lakshya and the Brahmaputra."

Dacca Review, February-March, 1917, P. 326—27.

Tippera. Isa Khan asked their advice as to how to secure aid from the King of Tippera. They advised him to approach the King through the Prime Minister. Isa Khan did better. He somehow managed to secure the affections of Queen Amaravati who accepted him as her son. Amar Manikya was already favourably inclined towards this young Afghan hero, the son of a converted Hindu, who was practically fighting single-handed against Mughal imperialism. The influence of his heroic queen now bore down all opposition. Isa Khan was honoured with presents and with the title of Masnad-i-Ali and a large force numbering 52,000 was sent to Sarail to help him against the Mughals.

Events had, in the meantime taken a complete turn in favour of the struggling Afghans, even before the aid from Tippera reached them. Abul Fazl says that, after the defeat of Isa Khan, when the Mughal soldiers were having their own way in Sarail and Joanshahi and looting the country around, two Zamindars of the locality, Majlis Pratap and Majlis Dilawar by name brought out a crowd of boats from the innumerable streams and canals of the region and fell on the Imperial Nawara. It has been guessed above that these two were the Zamindars of Joanshahi and Khaliajuri. The Zamindars of Astagram (Joanshahi) in the Mymensing district and of Baniachang in the Sylhet district were among those who helped Amar Manikya with labourers to excavate his Amarsagar. The founder of the Baniachang family was one Habib Khan and we hear of a son of his called Majlis Alam Khan (*Srihatter Itivritta*, by Babu Achyuta Charan Chaudhuri, Vol. II, Part III, P. 30). Too many Majlises in the same region, who appear all to have been contemporary, make the task of identifying them, one of particular difficulty. But this much can be said with some emphasis, that the two heroes that turned the tide of the contest in favour of the Afghans possibly belonged to the Zamindar families of Khaliajuri, Joonshahi or Baniachang. Taraf of Sylhet was also at this time under an Afghan Chief called Fateh Khan, as may be learnt from the *Rajmala*.

The sudden onset of the two Majlises took the Mughals by surprise and few stood out to fight. A panic ensued among the soldiers and the servants manning the Mughal war boats, many of whom leaped into water to save their lives. A captain of the Mughal Nawara, Muhammad Kuli by name, stood his ground and fought bravely, but ultimately he was taken prisoner. Shah Bardi fled precipitately. Never before had such a severe defeat overtaken the Imperial forces in Bengal! When Isa Khan reached Sarail with help from the King of Tippera, there was no enemy to fight with as the Mughals had already been defeated and driven away. Gladly did Isa Khan convey the glad tidings to Amar Manikya (17).

When the remnant of the Imperial forces reached the Mughal Headquarters at Bhowal, and when it was further learnt that powerful help from

(17) "With the soldiers he took leave and sped on; Bengal army broke and fled as soon as the news reached them. Isa Khan sent on the news to the King of Tippera. The Maharaja became pleased with the news."

the King of Tippera was coming to the Afghans in Sarail, a regular consternation must have set in among the Mughals encamped at Bhowal. Khan Jahan beat a hurried retreat across the present Dacca district. Akbarnama records that one Tila Ghazi helped the Mughals during their retreat and thus, in the language of Abul Fazl, the light of victory shone in the midday of despair; *i.e.*, in plain language, the Mughals were able to retreat without disaster. It is easily conceivable what the plight of Khan Jahan would have been, surrounded, as he then was, by a host of hostile Zamindars, but for the help of this Tila Ghazi. This Tila or Tala Ghazi was the Zamindar of the *pargana* that subsequently received his name *viz*: Talepabad, (J. A. S. B. 1874 and "Dacca Gazetteer," P. 24). It is situated roughly north of Sabhar. The relationship of Tala Ghazi with the main family of the Ghazis of Bhawal is not known. Ibrahim Naral also sent his son with presents to Khan Jahan. Khan Jahan returned to Srihatpur, a town which he had founded near Tanda, and sent reports to the Emperor about the celestial aid," *i.e.*, in plain language, about the fortunate help from Tala Ghazi and Ibrahim Naral, which enabled him to return safely!

Khan Jahan died in December, 1578, shortly after he had returned from the war in Bhati. Says Abul Fazl—"When he returned successful (??) from Bhati, he took up his abode at Sihhatpur. The sincerity of his soul had become somewhat clouded by the sense-robbing wine of self-love. Fortunately, the veil of honour was not rent. In a short space of time he fell on the bed of pain. . . . He suffered pains in his belly for 1½ months and died."

Keen-sighted Blochmann understood the sense of the above-quoted passage rightly, that Khan Jahan was on the verge of rebellion and it was only his death shortly after his return from the Bhati campaign that saved him from the disgrace. Bengal was in those days regarded as a penal Province and service in its plague-infested area was particularly disliked. Fighting the unruly Afghans in the eastern frontier of that province full of streams, canals and bogs where cavalry, the chief strength of the Mughal army, was of very little use and where fighting had to be done with boats, a mode of warfare which the Mughals were not used to,—in which surprises like that given by the Majlises were possible,—was by no means an attractive programme. Shah Bardi, the admiral of the Mughal Nawara, again, was a man of vacillating loyalty and an actual partisan of the rebels for a considerable time. On the other hand, the immense plunder of Bengal and the choice treasures of Daud seized from Mati were irresistably inclining the heart towards the peace and pleasures of Agra, Delhi and Fatehpur-Sikri. Abul Fazl has cause for praising the 'wonderful good fortune of Akbar' because the 'veil of honour' of Khan Jahan 'was not rent' and death carried away the war-worn Mughal General before he could mature his rebellious designs. But soon there was another combination of circumstances that did bring on a rebellion of the Mughal officers serving in Bengal,—the biggest upheaval in Akbar's reign that shook his very throne.

The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, B.L., C.I.C.,

II.

IN addition to his ministerial work, Krishna Mohan took considerable interest in the student community of Calcutta and assisted his friend Ram Gopal Ghose and others in organising a society in which the members might acquire "General knowledge and mutual improvement." The meetings were held monthly when papers were read and discussions held on subjects previously chosen. At the first meeting held in the Sanskrit College in May 1838, Krishna Mohan read a well-written paper "On the nature and importance of historical Studies." David Hare was present on that particular occasion in order to encourage the students in their deliberations. On other occasions papers were read by Krishna Mohan on "Civil and Social Reform among educated Indians" and also on "Indian Female Education." The latter essay was written in competition for a prize offered by Captain Jameson of Baroda. It was afterwards published under the patronage of Lady Nicholls, wife of the Commander-in-Chief. There appeared an appreciative review of this Essay in the *Englishman* on November 14, 1848.

MINISTERIAL AND PHILANTHROPIC ACTIVITIES.

In February 1839, Krishna Mohan accompanied Archdeacon Dealtry and two other missionaries to Krishnagar for the purpose of baptising 500 persons who had been under Christian instruction. These represented fifty-two villages with a population of 3,000 (1). The experience thus gained was a fitting prelude to fuller ministerial work. The mission to Krishnagar was a very important one, and the early C. M. S. missionaries did much to improve the material and spiritual condition of converts in that district, which afterwards gradually increased in importance.

Krishna Mohan Banerjea was ordained priest in 1839, and placed in charge of Christ Church in Cornwallis Square. This was a new Church built expressly for him. The architect was Mr. Vos (2). The foundation stone was laid by the Bishop of Calcutta on November 28, 1838; and the consecration took place on September 27, 1839. The sermon on that occasion was preached by Archdeacon Dealtry who referred to Krishna Mohan's

(1) See p. 292 of Bishop Wilson's *Journal Letters*, London, 1863; also p. 315 of *History of the C. M. S.*, by Eugene Stock, London, 1899.

(2) See p. 35, Vol. III, *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1839.



AT THE AGE OF 29 YEARS

Reproduced from the "Portrait Sketches of the Public Characters of Calcutta."

By COLESWORTHY GRANT.

service thus.—“ We observe again, as a ground for gratitude and perseverance, that the first ordained convert from Brahminical errors—one whose heart is in his work—is to be set over this Church, and to be assisted by a native [sic] student from Bishop's College. This is the first Church raised in India to be carried on entirely by native [sic] agency ” (3). In a letter dated September 29, 1839, Bishop Wilson wrote to his sister giving a description of the church and its new minister:—“ How I wish you could have witnessed the sight of the consecration of the first Christian Church ever built in Bengal for natives [sic] only. It was erected by Archdeacon Dealtry's evangelical fund at the Old Church. The ground, the Church, and adjoining schools, with missionary apartments over them, have cost 30,000 or 40,000 rupees. What a fine design! Krishna Mohan Banerjea is the Missionary, whose health is much recovered. The Church is pure Gothic, holding 400 or 500;—a nave and side-aisles, no chancel, a very chaste Gothic tower and pinnacles. You should have seen the crowds of natives [sic] who could not gain admittance. I suppose there must have been 300 present, all understanding English more or less ” (4). On October 3, the Bishop mentioned in his *Journal* that Krishna Mohan preached his first *Bengali* sermon that day. It was listened to by so large a crowd of Hindus that the preacher felt quite overwhelmed. His text was “ You hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins ” (5).

The new Church was dedicated on Friday, October 27, by Bishop Wilson. The prayers were offered by Krishna Mohan, and the Archdeacon preached the sermon to a congregation which included a large number of Indians.

It appeared that before building Christ Church, there had been a secret plan on the part of Krishna Mohan to erect a Church in the neighbourhood of the Hindu College, and that the scheme was so far advanced that ground had already been actually bought by the Trustees of the Old Church and the date fixed for laying the foundation stone. When the authorities of the College became aware of this plan, they became afraid lest the proximity of such a Church combined with the influence of Krishna Mohan might result in the conversion of many Hindu students. They, therefore, raised a strong protest and supported by Rajah Radhakanta Deb and other influential members of the Hindu community, approached Lord Auckland in order to state their grievances. The result was that the project was abandoned. It must, however, be mentioned that the college managers offered the Trustees instead a piece of land costing Rs. 8,000 in Cornwallis Square. On this the new Church was eventually built (6).

When Krishna Mohan was beginning his ministry in Cornwallis Square, there were already at work in opposition certain religious movements organised by different non-Christian societies in Calcutta. These were the *Dharma Shabha* of the orthodox Hindus; and the *Brahma Shabha* founded

(3) See p. 6 of *Consecration Sermon*, by the Archdeacon of Calcutta, 1839.

(4) See p. 306 of *Bishop Wilson's Journal*.

(5) See p. 307 of *Bishop Wilson's Journal Letters*.

(6) See pp. 476, 705 of the *Calcutta Christian Observer* for Aug., 1838.

by Rajah Rammohun Roy which met in Chitpore Road. There was also the local Unitarian Association composed of educated young men in the different schools. Besides, there were three or four debating clubs formed by the students of the Hindu College and the General Assembly's School. All these movements proved that the educated young men of Calcutta were being profoundly influenced by religious questions. They added considerably to the responsibility of Krishna Mohan's position as minister of Christ Church, situated as that was in the centre of the city's intellectual and religious activities.

From the beginning of his ministry he realised the need of instructing his congregation in Bengali, and published a volume of sermons written in the vernacular on the Evidences, Doctrines and Duties of the Christian faith. His wide sympathy, together with recollections of his own personal spiritual difficulties, made him ever ready to assist young men in their difficulties, and he readily offered shelter in his own house to those persecuted for accepting the Christian faith. It was also his intention to invite Christian students belonging to various missions to live with him, that he might care for and instruct them in their religious studies. Krishna Mohan was largely instrumental in the conversion of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, who was baptised in February, 1843, by Archdeacon Dealtry in the Old Mission Church. The young convert, it is said, composed a poem entitled "On my seeing the Light" in memory of the occasion. It may here be recorded that long afterwards, on his death-bed, in 1873, it was Krishna Mohan who visited and offered him religious consolation. Another brilliant young man, Ganendra Mohan Tagore, son of Prosonna Kumar Tagore, was also the fruit of his ministry, and was baptised eight years after Michael Dutt's conversion. Ganendra Mohan afterwards married Krishna Mohan's daughter, and was ably vindicated by his father-in-law in litigation regarding his father's property. Those two conversions caused a tremendous sensation in the Hindu community, and the fathers of students became alarmed when they saw their sons in the company of Krishna Mohan. Leaders of the Hindu community, in consequence, started an anti-missionary movement under the auspices of Rajah Radhakanta Deb, Rajah Kalikrishna, and other influential men of Calcutta. Several meetings were held to devise plans for effectually checking missionary propaganda in Bengal. It was resolved to establish an orthodox seminary in Calcutta, and to raise funds for that purpose. This anti-missionary movement was not due only to the conversions made by Krishna Mohan; but was also designed to frustrate the efforts of Dr. Duff, whose eloquence and powerful preaching had already created a sensation amongst the educated Hindu youths of the city. Both Dr. Duff and Krishna Mohan protested in the pages of the *Hurkura* against the anti-missionary movement, though the latter concealed his identity under a pseudonym.

Whenever Krishna Mohan found leisure in the midst of his pastoral work, he devoted his time to literary pursuits, or in discussing the comparative merits of Hinduism, Brahminism and Christianity with learned

exponents of those creeds. He was not content merely with verbal discussion, but in order to vindicate his position published a pamphlet entitled *Truth defended and error exposed*. Nor were his activities less in social questions of the day; he helped Ram Gopal Ghose to start a monthly magazine in English with a view to increase interest in the acquirement of general knowledge and to advocate other momentous questions. When the *Calcutta Review* was founded in 1844, he became one of its most important contributors. In 1846, he began to edit the "Encyclopædia Bengalensis" under the patronage of the Government of Bengal, and it was dedicated to the Governor-General of India. This important publication was printed in both English and Bengali, and dealt with various subjects such as history, literature, science and mathematics. The "Encyclopædia" not only contributed to the enrichment of the vernacular, but also enabled Bengalees to study Western literature and sciences in their own language. Krishna Mohan presented Sir Henry Hardinge with the first two numbers of the series, and the Governor-General in return gave him a beautifully bound copy of Elphinstone's "History of India" (7). In September 1850, Krishna Mohan started a weekly paper called *Sangbad Sadhangshu*, and in the same year he joined a special committee formed for the purpose of circulating a protest "on the subject of the unfaithfulness of the last edition of the Bible Society's Bengali version of the New Testament."

During Krishna Mohan's ministry, his social and philanthropic activities were as great as those in his literary pursuits. Babu Raj Narayan Bose related that Krishna Mohan used to join the *Sangkirthan* and *Kathakatha* organised by the Bengali Christians of Calcutta. Although a Christian, his sympathies were large, and extended beyond those of his own faith. He often took part in the বিদ্রোহ সমাগম held from time to time in the houses of prominent citizens of Calcutta, and his guidance and help were always in demand on special occasions. He took an active part at the Memorial meeting held for David Hare in the theatre of the Medical College on June 17, 1841, and served on the Committee entrusted with the erection of Hare's statue, of which his friend Hara Chandra Ghose (8) was appointed Secretary. Memorial meetings were held yearly, and on several occasions Krishna Mohan acted as Chairman, in addition to reading papers in English and Bengali.

The love and respect he had for his benefactor, David Hare, were so great that as early as 1830 while still a Hindu, he took part at a public meeting held in the house of Madhub Chunder Mullick of Jorasanko to decide as to a testimonial to be given Hare in recognition of his services to the cause of English education in Bengal. The meeting was largely attended and lasted for two days. On the first day the Chair was taken by

(7) See p. 8 of *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India, Part I*, Edited by Ram Gopal Sanyal.

(8) Afterwards Rai Hara Chandra Ghose Bahadur. He held several responsible Government positions before becoming a Judge of the Calcutta Small Cause Court in 1854. One of his sons is our distinguished citizen Rai G. C. Ghose Bahadur, C.I.E.

Krishna Mohan. It was determined that a subscription should be opened, and Mr. Hare invited to sit for his portrait. An address on parchment was presented to him on the occasion of his birthday (9). Krishna Mohan was, besides, appointed one of the adjudicators of the Hare Prize Foundation, with Debendranath Tagore (afterwards *Maharshi*) and Ram Gopal Ghose. Mr. Ram Gopal Sanyal quotes an extract from the Bengali monthly *Nabajiban* where it is stated that Krishna Mohan was not present at the funeral of David Hare to whom he owed so much for his early education (10). The Editor of that paper does not give his authority for the statement, and even if Krishna Mohan were absent it was probably due to the pressure of other engagements or that Mr. Hare was not a member of the Christian Church. His further statement that Krishna Mohan kept aloof from the memorial meeting held at the Medical College, as mentioned above, contradicts the account given by Peary Chand Mittra (11).

On December 24, 1847, Krishna Mohan took a prominent part at a large meeting of the citizens of Calcutta held at the Town Hall, when a farewell address to Sir Henry (Lord) Hardinge was under consideration. It was proposed by him that some reference should be made in the address to the services rendered by Sir Henry to the cause of education. As a staunch advocate of female education, Krishna Mohan expressed his strong opinion that respectable Hindu girls should be allowed to attend classes in Christian schools. Other educational movements of the day were of equal interest to him, and in March 1843 when Seal's Free College was opened Krishna Mohan took part in its inauguration with other distinguished men such as Dwarkanath Tagore, Sir J. G. Grant and others. He also did useful work in connection with the District Charitable Society, and acted as its Honorary Secretary from 1851-4, continuing his connection with the Society till 1858. He also served on the Committee of the Bible Association and occasionally addressed its meetings.

In 1847, Bishop Wilson chose a Dean and six canons for St. Paul's Cathedral. The first canon appointed on a stipendiary basis was Krishna Mohan, the next appointment being that of an Englishman to whom, however, a higher stipend was assigned. The distinction thus made roused Krishna Mohan's indignation for he had always expressed his strong dislike to distinctions of colour being marked in the Church. Furthermore, as Mr. I. C. Chowdry in an article (12) on Krishna Mohan has justly pointed out, he "brought into the Christian Church the same sturdy independence that had distinguished him as a pupil" in his younger days.

The Church where he ministered for so many years is still known as "Kristo Bando's Church." His preaching and influence in that part of

(9) See p. 33 of *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*, by Peary Chand Mittra.

(10) See Part I, p. 9 of *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India* by Ram Gopal Sanyal.

(11) See p. 79 of *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*; also an article on Dr. Banerjea in the *Hindu Patriot* for May 18, 1885.

(12) See *Young Men of India*, May, 1912.

the city were so great that some one composed a couplet praying the younger generation to refrain from going to hear him preaching lest they should become captivated. In 1852 he retired from the ministry of Christ Church in Cornwallis Square, to the great regret of his Bengali Congregation, who had found in him a friend, philosopher and guide.

PROFESSORIAL, LITERARY AND EDUCATIONAL WORK.

The most important phase of Krishna Mohan's life now begins, for his professorial, literary and other activities in connection with the various learned societies of Calcutta form the crown of his great career. After leaving Christ Church he was offered a lucrative Government position which he refused and subsequently accepted the position of Second Professor at Bishop's College. He showed a practical interest in the College welfare by contributing Rs. 8,000 towards the maintenance of poor Christian students and for the purpose of printing religious books in the vernacular (13). He remained on the College staff for sixteen years, loved and respected alike by his colleagues and the students. During those years he found his true vocation in teaching. He devoted much time outside of the College routine to preparing lectures on comparative religion, and his course on Vedantism is full of reasoning and yet thoroughly compact. Although a great admirer of the Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, he nevertheless made bold to criticize the Rajah's methods exemplified in his interpretation of the Vedanta. In 1851 he edited the *Purana Sangraha* with an English translation, and the same year wrote an essay on caste. In 1853 Krishna Mohan translated Dr. John Muir's *The Glory of Jesus Christ*. And this was followed afterwards by translations from some other religious works of the same author (14). These books proved invaluable to Indian Christian students of theology. One writer has truly remarked: "He may be said to have been literally the father of Bengali Christian literature if we except the names of the three eminent Baptist Missionaries of Serampore, who are entitled to our highest respect even on this score." He also collaborated with Dr. Kaye in revising two editions of the *Psalter*, published in 1858, and circulated largely among the missionaries. In 1861 was published his best known work *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy* in English and in Bengali. This greatly enhanced his reputation as a scholar. In it he gives an exhaustive account of the teaching attributed to different systems like the *Nyaya*, *Sankhya* and *Vedant*. When we take its date into account, there can be no doubt that this work on Indian Philosophy viewed from the stand-point of Christianity was a remarkably successful presentation and discussion of a most difficult subject. It received its meed of praise from that famous

(13) See A pamphlet entitled *Bishop's College Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors*.

(14) Dr. John Muir was a member of the Bengal Civil Service. He was a good Sanskrit scholar, and was instrumental in founding the Sanskrit Chair in the University of Edinburgh in 1800. His brother, Sir William Muir, was an able administrator. He was a sound Islamic scholar, and afterwards became Principal of Edinburgh University.

Orientalist, Dr. Theodor Goldstücker. Krishna Mohan edited *The Raghu-ransa* which was followed by the *Kumara Sambhava* of Kalidasa with notes and explanations in English. These were published by Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta.

In addition to his College duties, Krishna Mohan threw himself heartily into the work and activities of the University of Calcutta, which was founded in 1857. During the early years of its existence important measures were considered, bearing on the question of text books and also the creation of Chairs for physical science. In these, Krishna Mohan co-operated with other distinguished members of the Senate, among them being Bishop Cotton, Dr. Duff, Dr. Kay, Dr. Ogilvie, Dr. Cowell and others (15). He was made a Fellow in 1858 and afterwards elected President of the Faculty of Arts for three years. He was also appointed an examiner in Sanskrit and Bengali for different degrees and certificates. In fact no Indian Christian has ever since attained so important a position in the academic life of the University. He subsequently became a member of the Board of Examiners of the College of Fort William.

It was in 1851 that he joined the Bethune Society, becoming thereby one of the original members along with Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vydiasagar, Ram Gopal Ghose, Debendranath Tagore and others. Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. J. S. Cotton declared that "his services to the Bethune Society were of a conspicuous character." In 1867, he became one of the Vice-Presidents and held that position till his death (16). After the various sections of the Society were re-organised he was elected President of that representing literature and philosophy. Krishna Mohan was not only a regular attendant at the meetings of the Society, but with other prominent members took a considerable part in the discussions. He himself read papers on various subjects such as "Sanskrit Poetry" and "on the relation between the Hindu and Buddhistic systems of philosophy and the light which the history of the one throws on the other." On February 13, 1868, he delivered an interesting lecture on "The proper place of Oriental literature in Indian Collegiate education" at a meeting of the Society held in the theatre of the Medical College, when Sir J. B. Phear occupied the Chair. Krishna Mohan strongly advocated the higher education of Indian students, and in his lecture argued that the syllabus of studies should include both English and Oriental literature. A knowledge of Sanskrit and its grammar or even Arabic was highly important from the philological point of view as it helped to maintain the purity of the vernaculars. Krishna Mohan was of opinion that "No scheme of education can be of much value that excludes the Oriental element, just as we believe that no policy in the administration of the country can be perfect if it excludes the Oriental element from its higher offices." On the other hand, he maintained that European literature was essential for a thorough study of history, science and jurisprudence. He deprecated the controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists

(15) See Vol II, p. 383-4 of *The Life of Alexander Duff*, by George Smith.

(16) He was succeeded by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra.

as tending to create bad feeling between the two races, and was convinced that in the department of education English should be included with Oriental literature.

Amongst Krishna Mohan's other activities at this period, may be mentioned that of the *Family Literary Club* established in May, 1857. It was open to men of all religious denominations, and its meetings were held in the houses of prominent citizens of Calcutta. The club had a large number of influential members, and one of its chief object was to unite Indians and Europeans in close literary and intellectual sympathy. At every meeting an essay or lecture was read or delivered. These were followed by animated discussions. The lectures and proceedings were conducted in English and subjects of all kinds were admissible. Distinguished European and Indian visitors were invited to take part, and men like Sir Richard Temple, the Bishop of Calcutta, the Rev. C. H. A. Dall and other notable persons were often present. It is interesting to note that during the first and second year after the Club's foundation, the subjects discussed were such as "Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen;" "Advantages of moral education;" "The Parliamentarians were justified in executing Charles I;" "Advantages and Disadvantages of Society;" "Early Marriage;" "Polygamy;" "Female Education;" "Selfishness;" "The Justice or otherwise of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots;" "Government;" "Religion and Religions;" "The importance of studying Mathematics." This choice of subjects indicates how wide was the range of the members' interests and thoughts. In April 1865, at the eighth anniversary meeting of the Club, Krishna Mohan was elected Chairman, and the Rev. J. Mullens, D.D., delivered an interesting lecture on "Indian Architecture with Illustrations." At the thirteenth anniversary, Sir Richard Temple presided. Krishna Mohan took an active part in the discussion which followed the address then delivered by the Bishop of Calcutta on "Eclecticism." The meeting was held in the house of Ram Mohun Mullick, and the following account of the proceedings is given in that year's report:—"Rev. K. M. Banerjea maintained that Brahmoism was not at all different from Brahminism, etymologically. Both words, he said, were derived from the word *bram*, which meant a *Mantra of the Veda*. He maintained, in strong terms, that Brahmoism was essentially eclectic and fleeting, and said it had no distinct principles as its supporters maintain. He then gave a short history of the rise and progress of Brahmoism, and concluded with saying that men like the last speaker should not meddle with, or speak of, things of which they knew little or nothing at all. He supported the motion of the vote of thanks to the Right Rev. Lecturer" (17). Mr. E. P. Wood, Barrister-at-Law, read a paper on *The Life and Philosophical Teachings of Socrates* at the sixteenth anniversary of the Club, when Sir Richard Temple presided. An animated discussion followed the lecture in which Rajah Chander Nath Roy Bahadur of Natore, Krishna Mohan Banerjea and others took part. The latter's trenchant and witty remarks elicited replies from both the lecturer and the Rajah. Krishna

(17) See *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Family Literary Club*.

Mohan expressed his pleasure that a Rajah should have attended a meeting of that kind, but "he thought, at the same time, that the Rajah had handled a very delicate question. Such questions were very difficult, and too abstruse for a meeting like the present, and he thought that they should be left to scholars. For his own part, he was inclined to think that there were many things common to both Hindu and Grecian philosophy, and that they had a common stock. That was the best way of settling the question. It was no use saying that the Hindu mythology was the oldest, or that the Grecian or Egyptian mythology was the oldest. The Revd. gentleman reminded the meeting of a humorous anecdote in regard to the relative beauty of Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth. The question was—who was the more beautiful, the Queen of Scotland or the Queen of England? The question was settled thus:—the Queen of Scotland was the handsomest woman in Scotland, and the Queen of England was the handsomest woman in England (laughter). It was in this way, he went on to say, that they should settle the point. Each nation should look upon its own traditions in the same light, and there would be an end to the dispute. With reference to his contention that the mythologies of both countries had a common origin, he asked the meeting to imagine three brothers setting out from a given place to different parts of the world. Now, in the course of time, it turned out that there were many things common in the traditions of the different places to which the three brothers had gone. And the reason was obvious. The brothers had a common knowledge of things in connection with their parents, etc., and this knowledge was spread in the different countries in which they sojourned. In the absence of any direct proof as to the relative antiquity of the traditions of two or more countries, it was reasonable to conclude, where these traditions appeared to have many things in common, that they had a common origin. The question was a very dangerous and difficult one, and very hard of proof and, therefore, under the circumstances, it were better to settle the point in the way he had suggested, than calling each other thieves (Great laughter)" (18). The Rajah's reply to this long argument was rather irrelevant, for he misinterpreted it by saying that Krishna Mohan had endeavoured to prove that only superficial knowledge was necessary, and if that were so, then the labours of certain distinguished European Orientalists were useless seeing they only confined themselves to Indian philosophy and chronology. The Rajah finished his remarks by informing the audience that he was intending to write a disquisition on "the comparative Antiquity, Philology, Mythology, and Ethics of Greece and India." The undertaking must have appeared somewhat ambitious in view of the Rajah's probable attainments.

Besides his Professorial and literary work, Krishna Mohan devoted a portion of his valuable time to the Calcutta Diocesan and S. P. C. Committees. In April 1862, he delivered a lecture on *The Origin of the Vaishnava Worship among the Hindus* at the General Assembly's Institution.

(18: See Sixteenth Annual Report of the Family Literary Club.

About the same time he was selected by Bishop Cotton to be one of the special preachers at St. Paul's Cathedral for a course of lectures to be given to educated Hindus *On the Need, Evidences, and Difficulties of a Supernatural Revelation*. Bishop Cotton gave the first lecture and was followed in turn by Archdeacon Pratt, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea and others. These lectures were afterwards repeated in the Free Church Institution at the request of the Rev. W. C. Fyfe. The attendance at the latter place was greater than at the Cathedral owing to its location in the Indian quarter. In 1863, Krishna Mohan delivered a lecture in the Cathedral on *The Claims of Christianity in British India*. This made a deep impression, and was afterwards published under the title *Revelation, Christianity and the Bible*, by Bishop Cotton in 1864. The Bishop wrote an excellent *Preface* in which he described how Krishna Mohan "one of their most distinguished countrymen, well versed in the lore of their own Rishis, invited them to seek in Jesus Christ, the same rest from their toilsome wandering, which he himself had found." In this *Preface*, the Bishop took occasion to comment on the "inconsistent lives of English Christians." The lectures were generally followed by discussion in which leading members of both the Hindu and Brahmo communities took part. In the *Memoirs of Bishop Cotton*, it is recorded that in June, 1864, he invited several Indians to discuss difficulties and to receive fuller explanation on points dealt with in his previous lecture. He wrote: "It was rumoured that many were to appear, and accordingly we mustered strong on the Christian side; but after all only four came, and of these two were Christians; the other two were—and Keshub Chunder Sen, a well-known leader of the Brahmo Somaj. The latter was thus quite outnumbered; but we treated him very courteously, and gave him full scope for expressing his convictions, which he did in a remarkably simple, earnest and pleasing way. His account of the reasons for which he believed in God, prayer, and the spiritual life generally, without revelation, was interesting and reasonable; but he entirely broke down in some of his arguments, partly from an insufficient education, partly from the Hindu indifference to facts and history. Thus he seemed surprised at our maintaining that the idea of a Church, which he said that the Brahmos hold tenaciously, was altogether Christian, and borrowed by his sect from the New Testament, saying that he thought it had existed everywhere, apart from revelation; and he avowed that his chief difficulty in believing the Scriptures was that he could see no connexion between facts and morals. He even said that, assuming the facts of Christ's resurrection to be demonstrably proved, he did not see that it need influence our belief or practice, further than as a kind of illustration of the immortality of the soul. We had tea, sandwiches and ice, all which he ate without scruple, and the whole party attended prayers in the Chapel" (19). A few days afterwards, the second lecture of the series was delivered by Krishna Mohan at the Cathedral, it was largely

(19) See pp. 403-4 of *Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton*, edited by Mrs. Cotton, Longmans, Green & Co., 1871.

attended, and Bishop Cotton considered that it was " exceedingly interesting and successful, admirable as an English composition, and most telling and impressive as an argumentative exhortation. This praise chiefly applies to the second portion; the first was merely a kind of Paleian sketch of evidence, but the second part brought the subject home to India by copious references to Hindu religion and philosophy, showing how the necessity of a revelation had been felt by the *Rishis*, and how many faint shadows of the truth appear in their writings. The allusions to ' our ancestors,' ' our nation,' ' our Rishis,' etc., quite recalled to my mind the thought of St. Paul preaching to the Jews. Some of the applications of Scripture, too, were most forcible, and Stanley would have been delighted to hear the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews adduced to show that there were fragments of revelation in the Vedas " (20). Krishna Mohan's lectures were always interesting and convincing, though not always palatable to Hindus and Brahmos. In October 1865, he lectured at St. Paul's on *The peculiar responsibility of educated Natives—and their duty thoughtfully to enquire into the Christian scheme of Salvation*. It is recorded by the late Mr. I. C. Chowdry, that in spite of Krishna Mohan's consistent denouncing of Hinduism, and able advocacy of Christianity, he was asked by the Maharajah of Burdwan, an orthodox Hindu, to become guardian-tutor to his adopted son.

In 1866 Krishna Mohan Banerjea preached the funeral sermon on Bishop Cotton at St. Paul's Cathedral. He mentioned the various qualities of head and heart possessed by the Bishop; but dwelt especially on his connection with and interest in the non-Christian communities of Calcutta. " Private conferences with educated inquirers were not unknown in the days of Bishop Middleton, who spent hours in conversation with our Rajah Ram-mohun Roy. But for a Bishop to deliver lectures or sermons to hundreds of eager listeners still professing the Hindu or Mahomedan religions was never before known in the diocese of Calcutta. It was a new sight, as it was a cheering sight, to see Bishop Cotton lecturing in the Bethune Society, at the General Assembly's Institution, and in the transept of this very Cathedral, and hundreds of intelligent Bengalis, collected from the remotest part of the city, listening to his discourses with rivetted attention." Krishna Mohan also reminded his congregation that the Bishop was an accomplished scholar and took much interest in education. " The senate of the University of Calcutta, composed of conflicting races and creeds, always looked up to his guidance and advice. The Faculty of Arts elected him as its President and representative in the Syndicate, where as Senior Fellow, he had always to take the Chair in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor at Simla. He thus practically became the governor of the University for the greater part of the year. The thousands of undergraduates and graduates, the vast majority of whom were Hindus, delighted to speak of him as our Bishop,

(20) See p. 404 of *Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton*, edited by Mrs. Cotton. The editor inserted an interesting extract concerning *Sacrifice and Miracles* from K. M. Banerjea's writings in the *Memoir*, See *ibid.* p. 339.

like the Christian community itself (21). It may be remarked that it was due to Bishop Cotton's influence that the C. M. S. established the Cathedral Mission College in Calcutta.

In 1869, Krishna Mohan resigned his Professorship at Bishop's College after sixteen years of valuable service, during which period his time and energy were unsparingly used for the development of Oriental studies.

HARIHAR DAS.

(To be Continued.)

(21) See pp. 13-14 of *Sermon on the Death of the Bishop of Calcutta*, by Rev. K. M. Banerjea, 1866.

Organised Banking in the Days of John Company—II.

EVEN of the work of the second Government Bank at Madras started by Lord William Bentinck in 1805 very little is known. Cooke says that it conducted business on a very small scale and had a note circulation of a very limited amount. Brunyate considers it "more a treasury than a bank" (1). Not one of the recent writers gives us more information than these two authors.

The origin of the Government Bank was due to the recommendation of the Second Finance Committee appointed to consider the state of finances of the Presidency of Madras. The First Finance Committee was appointed in 1798 and sat till 1800. Different subjects like the management of the Lottery Fund and the establishment of the Government Bank to help the conditions of the junior members of the Company and the reorganisation of the Post Offices were some of its recommendations. The Bank of Issue could not be started for nothing definite as regards Government control was stated therein.

One of the recommendations of the Second Finance Committee which submitted an *ad interim* report in November 1805 (2) was to start a Bank of Issue on lines similar to those recommended by Henry St. George Tucker in his letter to Lord Wellesley written in 1801. The only difference was that the Government should not subscribe any share capital nor were there to be any Government directors. There was no individual private capital to have recourse to and no individuals like shareholders interested in maintaining its credit.

The part played by Lord William Bentinck in the founding of this Bank is not mentioned by any other writer and is worth recording as it shows the foresight of that distinguished nobleman who later on won laurels for his improvements in the Civil Administration of the Company's territory. He was a staunch believer in the superiority of Government credit to private credit and he thought that in order to have extended paper

(1) See J. B. Brunyate—An Account of the Presidency Banks p. 29.

(2) The second Finance Committee sat till 1808. It was of opinion that though Gold pagodas were in circulation silver was the only suitable currency and as there were numerous coins with fluctuating values which only tended to increase the shroff's profit in converting them into change it was proposed to adopt the Bengal Rupee as the single standard of value. Up till 1815 this diversity of coin existed and an examination of the Government Treasuries revealed that there were roughly 72 varieties of gold coin, 60 varieties of silver and 25 varieties of copper. These were gradually called in. Single and double pagodas were issued together with rupees, half-rupees, quarter rupees and two anna pieces. In 1818 it was decided to replace the star pagoda by the silver rupee as the coin of account. (See Public Consultations) 27th July, 1815, p. 1999 and 11th January, 1818, No. 17.

currency the best means would be to start a Government Bank which would always have the accommodation of the Public Treasury (3). As he could not secure support for his scheme in the Council the Bank was started in the second week of December 1805 (4) without even consulting the Supreme Government. He acted as the sole director of the Bank and its notes were received at all the Public Treasuries in lieu of cash.

This plan of the Madras Bank was forwarded to Henry St. George Tucker for favour of his esteemed opinion and from his trenchant criticism the following points of the Bank Administration can be gathered. He rightly says that "it is deficient in two of the most essential requisites of a Bank. It is neither calculated to obtain the confidence of the public nor does it provide the means of aiding the operations of commerce. The Madras Bank will not in my opinion be distinguished from the public treasury. It will be involved in all the money transactions of the Government. It will participate in its difficulties and its credit will be least when it has most occasion for credit in time of public distress. Lord William Bentinck contemplates this and makes provision for suspending cash payment as done in England during 1797 and after." The original plan of the Bank was to issue notes only and the idea of acting as a bank of deposit and discount at the same time did not enter into the mind of the founder. Mr. Tucker was clever enough to recognise the limited utility of a Bank of Issue and criticised the above conception on the following ground that "if the amount of specie which it was to keep in reserve was as much as the actual amount of notes in circulation there would be no augmentation of the circulating medium." A minor point of criticism was "that it was not so framed as to secure the greatest economy in its management." As the Governor chose to be sole director his other duties would be so exacting that there would be very little time to pay adequate attention to supervise the duties of the Bank and the real affairs would after all be managed by subordinate officers having no direct responsibility."

This lucid criticism must have had a certain salutary effect in bringing about improvements in the Government Bank of Madras. It soon undertook deposit and discount business. Its notes were received in the public Treasury but they had scarcely any circulation in the Province of Madras itself.

Occasional references to its officers can be traced in the Government Records of the time. One Richard Yieldham, a free merchant who settled in Madras acted as the Treasurer of the Government Bank.

The Government Bank was located under the Exchange in 1807. Important changes took place during the years 1807 to 1809 and no writer on banking has chronicled these significant facts. Mr. Petrie who had to act as the Governor in place of Lord William Bentinck who was recalled as a result of the Sepoy Mutiny at Madras, refused to act as the Director of the Bank and appointed four *ex-officio* Directors—the Chief Secretary,

(3) See Public Consultations, 29th November, 1805 pp. 5709.

(4) See Public Consultations 6th December, 1805 pp. 5793.

the Mint Master, the Accountant-General and the Sub-Treasurer. The Court of Directors condemned the starting of this bank without their advice or consent being taken and directors were asked to follow the proposed regulations of the Bank of Calcutta. The Accountant-General had to undertake this task of reorganisation and all the notes issued hitherto were recalled by a Proclamation dated 29th November, 1808. For a period of two years an attempt was made to reconstruct the Bank allowing the Government to subscribe one-fifth of the total five lakhs of pagodas of capital. The Bank was to be placed on a limited liability basis. The notes were to be current only in the Madras Presidency. The Government was to nominate five out of nine directors. The Bank was to discount bills and the maximum rate of discount was fixed at twelve per cent. (5).

This well-directed scheme of reorganisation fell through and the Bank was started as a Government Bank pure and simple managed in all its aspects by the servants of the Government. The management rested in the hands of those *ex-officio* financial officers of the Government and according to Brunyate "it was managed unsuccessfully by the Government officials during the early days of its career" (6). Even the Presidency Bank of Madras started in 1843 had to suffer on account of incompetent management during the first two years of its existence. "Improper advances to speculative persons formed the chief mistake."

Another industrious writer Mr. Crawford says "we have never seen stated in any public document the amount of the capital of the Bank and its profits instead of being carried half-yearly or yearly to account are permitted to accumulate for a series of years and thus carried to public credit (7). During 1826-1827 the estimated profit was £620,226 but the real profit was £516,855 if the pagoda was to be valued at its real rate of 6s. 8d. If the rate of profit be 10 per cent. then the capital must be roughly one-fourth £ nil. The Government of Madras having no surplus revenue the capital must have been secured on the payment of five per cent. interest on deposits in which case the real profits of the Government banking amount to only five per cent. This dabbling in deposits and discounts for five per cent. profit on the part of a Government has been adversely censured by Mr. Crawford who considered it "least praiseworthy on the part of the Government to waste precious time in attending to the concerns of a small money shop."

Whatever amount of truth there might be in the ingenious calculations of Mr. Crawford we possess another reliable and authoritative estimate of the profits of the Government Bank. This was stated by the Accountant-General in a public document and it is a mistake to suppose as Crawford has done that no public document as regards its operations exists. In 1819 a report was published with reference to the bank's past

(5) See Public Consultations 1809, 7th November, p. 6726 and 23rd November, p. 6727.

(6) Brunyate must have been referring to Maitland's mismanagement of the Madras Bank in 1829 as a result of which strict regulations were passed in the matter of making loans. See Secret Consultations, 5th October, 1830, Nos. 1 to 3.

(7) See Mr. Crawford's Evidence before the Select Committee of the H. of Commons, 1830.

and present business. This report states that the Bank was founded when there was great scarcity of specie, a failure of mercantile credit (8) and considerable public and private distress. As a French invasion was feared, the Bank permitted an accumulation of specie in the Treasury for military purposes and the withdrawal from circulation of a large quantity of paper money bearing interest. It proposed to be quite independent of the Government but as a matter of fact it was closely related to the Government and the scheme of reorganisation fell through. Its business for the Government consisted in purchasing bullion for the Mint and the management of the remittance business to Bengal. It had no capital of its own and it is curious indeed that modern banking reformers quote the Australian Commonwealth Bank alone when they desire to start a Central Bank without any capital. This earlier instance is not referred to. In the very first years its note circulation averaged eight and half lakhs of pagodas. Thirty-three lakhs Rupees worth of paper money bearing interest at eight per cent. was withdrawn. Latterly the Bank had little connection with the Government save for little or small withdrawals of specie from the Treasury.

This Bank was considered "unsuited to the wants of the second Presidency in India" and Mr. J. Ochterlony outlined the scheme for improving the Bank and making it an institution modelled on the Bank of Bengal and the Bank of Bombay. The Madras Chamber of Commerce also took a prominent part in the agitation for the starting of a better bank. The capital of the new Bank was to be thirty lakhs of Rupees of which three lakhs were to be offered to the Government. On 4th July, 1840 the capital was fully subscribed and a memorial was sent to the Court of Directors for a charter of incorporation. The Bank was actually started in 1843 as there was considerable delay in the matter of incorporation due to the request made by the public to reduce the capital to twenty lakhs (9). The Court of Directors refused to consider this suggestion and considered it dangerous to grant wide privilege of note issue to an inadequately capitalised bank.

Though the Government Bank failed to organise mercantile and private credit on suitable lines it did good service in those days when private banks did not exist to fill the void created by the failure of the Earlier European Banks *viz.*, the Carnatic Bank, the British Bank and the Asiatic Bank. For obtaining a candid estimation of the services of the Government Bank the following quotation from the Madras Gazette would be of great use. "In its days it had been a great accommodation to the public

(8) From this it can be referred that the three private Banks, the Carnatic Bank, the British Bank and the Asiatic Bank failed to conduct business successfully and as a result of this the Government Bank was started.

(9) See Financial Consultations 16th June 1840, No. 9-11; 29th November 1842, No. 17; also 9th May 1843, Nos. 4 and 5. The Presidency Bank of Madras was started on lines similar to that of the Bank of Bengal. Act IX of 1843 gave the charter of incorporation and the new Bank began its operations in 1843. Mr. S. A. Birch was the first Civilian Secretary. Later on he became connected with the Bank of Bombay which failed in 1866 crisis. See Financial Consultations 23rd May 1843, Nos. 17-19. Also 27th June 1843, Nos. 28-30.

a safe depository for unemployed balances and a source from whom the man of principle and integrity has been relieved in a moment of necessity and upon which he has relied with confidence but like many other good things it has suffered from abuse and a system of dealing and procuring accommodation the most injurious to the man of straight-forward dealing and conscientious punctuality" (10).

THE GOVERNMENT SAVINGS BANKS.

No other writer has evidently contradicted the description of Cooke as regards the working of the Government Savings Banks in the Presidency Towns—specially that of the City of Calcutta. The credit of starting the Government Savings Banks in the Presidency Towns in 1833 is usually attributed to Lord William Bentinck but what really was done by him was only to extend the Government Savings agency of 1810 which was being managed by the Accountant-General and the Sub-Treasurer. Savings Banks were not unknown by this time. One such institution conducted its operations successfully in Serampore (11). The failure of the Agency House created a void in the money market and there were many people who suffered actually by their failure. The Government Savings Agency working since 1810 was empowered to extend its activities. By 1855 it was carrying on its transactions with all parts of the country by means of the District Treasuries under the supervision of the Collectors and the Divisional Paymasters. By the Act of XXVI of 1855 the Secretary to the Government Savings Bank was empowered with judicial powers. The G. S. Bank was nominally under the supervision of the Accountant-General to the Government of India but it was a separate establishment under an actuary who had to give both the bond of indemnity and security for the correct discharge of his duties. (12) The usual practice was to create deposits and debit withdrawals made at the District Collectorates and Paymasters' Treasuries on monthly returns forwarded by their officers. Repayments were made by the Savings Bank Secretary by orders on Collectors and Paymasters. It is recorded that the business of the Savings Bank was transferred to the Bank of Bengal in 1856 (13). Separate District Savings Banks were not created till 1870.

Since Cooke wrote his description of the G. S. Banks it is commonly supposed that in 1856 the Bank of Bengal displaced the separate agency under Government orders published in the Calcutta Gazette of 27th January 1855. It was not the management that was actually transferred. A reference to the proceedings of the Government of India in the Financial

(10) Quoted by the Asiatic Journal, from the *Fort St. George Gazette*, September 20th, 1830.

(11) See Asiatic Annual Register 1824, July 8th, p. 192.

(12) See the Asiatic Journal March 1839, p. 198.

(13) See C. N. Cooke, *Banking in India*, p. 341. The letter of the Financial Secretary to the Government of India, 18th January 1856, gives the correct information but the separate managing agency was not established in 1856. Till 1863 the separate management existed and from September 1863, the Bank of Bengal was paid monthly compensation of Rs. 750 for managing this business. See Symes Scutt. *History of the Bank of Bengal*, p. 67.

Department dated 22nd August 1861 would however make it clear that the expediency of transferring the management of the Savings Bank to the Bank of Bengal and the proposed branch banks was considered in 1861. Though this proposal was agreed to by the Secretary of the Bank of Bengal, the Civil Paymasters of Fort St. William and the Accountant General, the Governor General decided that the Bank of Bengal was to be utilised merely as the bankers to the G. S. Bank and the management was however to continue as before under the Accountant General and the Actuary. The Bank of Bengal continued as the custodian of the funds of the G. S. Bank in Calcutta till September 1863 when management also was handed over to the Bank of Bengal. Formal notice was served in 1886 on the Bank of Bengal that Savings Bank business might be withdrawn at any time on nine months notice being given to it. Actual notice to that effect was served on the Bank of Bengal in 1895 and Symes Scutt records that it was actually transferred in October 1896.

The G. S. Bank in Calcutta became popular from the very early years of its start and this was undoubtedly due to the great preparations and propaganda work done before its actual inception. A special Committee consisting of the following gentlemen was appointed to organise a plan for the G. S. Bank (14).

Names of the Gentlemen who formed the Committee—P. M. Wynch, Esq., President; J. A. Dorin, Esq., C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., Lieut.-Col. Kennedy, Esq., Capt. H. B. Henderson, Esq., Theodore Dickens, Esq., Babu Ramcomul Sen.

This Committee can be considered as the first banking committee appointed in this Country and the starting of the Savings Bank was recommended by it. Due to the persuasion of the Indian member of the Committee Babu Ramcomul Sen, Khazanchee of the Bank of Bengal—even the clerks of the Bank and Government public offices and pilot service began to deposit their savings. On the very first opening day there were nearly 62 deposits ranging from one Rupee to Rupees four hundred. The total deposits amounted to about Rs. 3,828. The honour of being the first depositor falls to the happy lot of Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore and his son was the second depositor, each depositing about four hundred rupees, mainly to set an example to the rest of the members of the Hindu Community. During the first five years *viz.*, November 1833 to November 1838 there were 3,899 depositors with roughly about twenty-eight and one-fourth lakhs of Rupees as deposits. By 1840 its gross operations amounted to 40 lacs of Rupees and about 18 lakhs of Rupees were invested through its medium in public funds (15). The number of depositors exceeded 4,500

(14) See the *Calcutta Courier*, May 8, 1833.

(15) See the Pamphlet "Remarks of the Savings Bank" which was published in 1840 or thereabouts. The anonymous writer of this pamphlet remarks that numerous branch banks of this parent institution be started at such places as Benares, Dacca, Patna, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Mirzapore, Saugor, Jubblepore, Agra, Delhi, Bareilly, Furrackabad, Meerut, Ludhiana, Kurnal, Saharanpore, Almorah and Simla and other big towns. They would be secure places

in number. The depositors's list included all classes of people. In 1842 the Government undertook the wise step of paying full month's interest on deposits made within the first four working days of the month. In 1854 there was the first reduction of the rate of interest payable on the deposits of the civil classes from 4 to 3 per cent. per annum. The limit of all deposits for all classes was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500 and the rate of interest for the deposits of the soldiery was reduced from four to three and three-fourths per cent.

It speaks volumes in favour of the first Committee of management which regulated the business and modified the original rules in the light of actual experience gained during the course of the management of the first few years. As a repetition of the original rules (16) guiding the business of the bank would occupy too much space only a brief mention of the salutary measures leading to its actual success would be made. The Bank was placed under Government responsibility and it was opened to all classes of people without distinction. The Government reserved the power to raise or lower the rate of interest after six months' notice in the Calcutta Gazette. When the deposit of a depositor were to amount to Rs. 500 they were to be transferred to four per cent. Government Loan on behalf of the depositor. Thus the habit of investment in the Government securities was also to be taught to these small savers. Again the enforcement of such sound regulations which exist even to the modern day, in a modified form or other, must be held responsible for the success of the G. S. Bank. It was the laxity of management and not the absence of such rigid rules that was chiefly responsible for the failure of the Bengal Military Bank which was a Savings Bank mainly intended for the military classes. This leads us on to the subject of the Bengal Military Bank whose general plan of work is outlined in the Selections of the Calcutta Gazette. But no other writer on Indian Banking has referred to its work and the reasons for its failure. It is for the first time these details of their operations are collected from the contemporary newspapers and magazines.

THE BENGAL MILITARY BANK.

The plan of the Bengal Military Bank was first devised by the Commander-in-Chief and after securing the approval of the Governor-General in Council, the Bengal Military Bank was started mainly for the purpose of enabling the Military Officers to remit their monthly Savings and to assist the Regimental Savings Banks which were in existence in Bengal by that time and to help the formation of several more regimental Savings Banks by affording them proper means of investing their funds with security.

of deposit, afford inducement to industry, act as accumulators of capital, tend towards increased productiveness of labour and give increased facility for providing for physical wants to the depositors. A copy of this pamphlet exists in the Imperial Library and from internal evidence it can be gathered that Hon'ble F. Shore, the writer of two volumes entitled "Notes on India" might have been the probable author of this pamphlet also.

(16) See the *Calcutta Gazette*, October 12th, 1833.

THE WORK OF THE BANK.

The Bengal Military Bank was authorised to receive deposits from 1st January, 1821 from all military Officers, Commissioned or Non-Commissioned or Warrant Officers or any other officers attached to the Military service of the East India Company. The deposits (not less than ten Sicca Rupees) (17) could be made out of their pay or monthly allowances by sending an application to the Pay-Master authorising him to deduct the stated sum from their pay. The form of application was as follows:—

Deduct from this pay-bill and remit to the Military Bank as follows:—

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|---------|
| For Captain | ... | ... | One Hundred Sicca | ... | Rs. 100 |
| „ Lieutenant | ... | ... | Fifty Sicca | ... | „ 50 |
| „ Serjeant | ... | ... | Ten Sicca | ... | „ 10 |
| | | | Total Sicca | ... | Rs. 160 |

SIGNATURE OF THE CAPTAIN.

The Pay-Master had to remit this sum to the Secretary of the Bengal Military Bank stationed in Calcutta by a bill of exchange on the Accountant General drawn in favour of the Bank. A detailed statement was also to be sent to the Accountant General and the Memorandum was to state in full the details, viz., amount of deduction from the pay, Battalion Regiment, for the month of—year—to be remitted to the Bengal Military Bank. In addition to his deduction from pay individual depositors could remit savings directly to the Secretary of the Bank.

MANAGEMENT OF THE FUNDS.

The General Military Bank in Calcutta was to lend these funds to the best advantage on the pledge on deposit of Government paper, public bank shares and other good securities so as to realise the highest rate of interest consistent with perfect safety.

OFFICERS OF THE BANK.

Twelve directors were to be in charge of its operations. The Government had the right to nominate three out of twelve and the remaining were to be elected by the constituents of the Bank at the Annual meeting to be held in the month of January. The ex-officio Government Directors

(17) The Sicca Rs. became the standard money in Bengal by that time. It must be remembered that there were other denominations of Rupee current in Bengal and Lord Cornwallis made a great effort to standardise the 19th Sun Sicca Re. as the unit of account in Bengal. By 1795 it was established as the standard money of Bengal. See the Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette* which reproduce the Government Notification on this subject; Fort William Public Department, October 24th, 1792. The intrinsic value of the different species of rupees current in Bengal, Behar and Orissa compared with the Sicca Re. from assays made in Bengal is quoted in a tabular form in the Notification.

were—a) the Adjutant General of the Army; b) the Military Auditor-General c) The Accountant, Military Department. The first batch of directors for the year 1821 was nominated by the Government. The first directors were the following:—

- (1) Col. J. Nicholls—C.B. Quarter-Master General—His Majesty's Forces.
- (2) Lieutenant-Colonel J. Paton—Quarter-Master General of the Army.
- (3) Major L. Wiggins—Assistant Military Auditor General.
- (4) Major C. H. Campbell—Deputy Secretary to the Government, Military Department.
- (5) Captain R. H. Sneyd—1st Regiment of Cavalry.
- (6) Captain W. S. Beatson—Assistant Adjutant General of the Army.

Besides these military officers an expert banker-merchant and a partner of an Agency House and a Civilian officer were recommended to the Board of Directors.

- (7) John Palmer—Esq.
- (8) George Cruttenden—Esq.
- (9) James Young—Esq.

Mr. Ballard of the firm of Messrs. Alexander and Company was appointed as the Hony. Secretary and was authorised to appoint House Treasurers to the Bank.

REGULATIONS FOR OFFICE BUSINESS.

The following were some of the most important regulations or bye-laws of its business:—

- (1) The Treasurers have to keep the Bank accounts in a separate set of books which would have to be produced at the time of the meetings of the Directors or at any time.
- (2) By the 5th of every month the Secretary has to furnish the receipts and disbursements and suggest the best methods for investing the floating balances.
- (3) All bonds, deeds, mortgages or other papers and documents having reference to pecuniary transactions and being bank stock or securities are to be made out in the names of the directors; but mere receipts may be signed by the Secretary for the Treasurers.
- (4) There shall be quarterly meetings of the directors for inspecting the accounts and such other business as may be brought before the Special meetings when required for urgent business may be summoned by the President or any other directors.
- (5) The signature of three directors was considered adequate to sanction any measure and to authenticate any account.
- (6) The Office of the President was to be annual and three directors had to go out annually by rotation. The directors were to select

the President and the three seats to be vacated annually were to be filled up by the votes of depositors (18).

The most important thing to be noticed is the fact that the bye-laws do not provide any loop-hole to the officers to mismanage the funds. They were also framed with the view of expediting business on sound lines and the permission for the depositors to elect three directors annually was evidently in the interests of securing the continuity of policy so eminently desirable in the case of all savings banks.

RULES FOR DEPOSITORS.

The following were some of the salutary provisions with reference to depositor's business:—

(1) Remittance must be made in sicca rs. Each remittance must be for a minimum figure of ten sicca rs. and should not contain any fraction of a rupee.

(2) Bills drawn by depositors not in excess of actual deposit will be honoured at any time. But to facilitate business bills will be payable only at two fixed periods viz., 15th January, and 15th July. Officers going on leave will be allowed to draw any portion of their deposits by bills at ten day's sight.

(3) The aggregate deposits are to be treated as joint-stock and vested in Government securities. Profits arising out of this will be divided among shareholders according to their respective proportion and carried to the credit of their accounts.

(4) Half-yearly drafts of the shareholders below 1,000 Sicca Rs. will be paid in cash; if greater than that it is left to the option of the Directors to pay it by transferring a portion of the stock at the rate at which it was purchased or at the rate of the day or at par as may appear most equitable.

A perusal of the above rules will make it clear that they were well-conceived and it is a wonder why this bank failed in spite of such wise bye-laws and regulations framed in the interests of the depositors.

ACTUAL OPERATIONS.

By the end of 1833 there were 402 accounts of depositors and the assets of the bank amounted to Rs. 620,540, all of which, excepting a floating cash balance of Rs. 11,320-14-7 deposited in the Bank of Hindostan was represented by mortgages of house property. But as mortgages depreciated specially that on the house of Sheikh Abdulla—a loss of one-sixth was made from the depositor's accounts by transfer to a special account in 1830 being then estimated at about 160,000 Rs. In 1833 about two lakhs had to be struck off and another half-lakh as other mortgages depreciated. This reduced the value to Rs. 375,000. From this sum again about 75,000 Rs. had to be deposited to pay arrears of dividend to depositors. So three lakhs remained to be divided among all the depositors whose claims amounted to 10 lakhs of Rs.

(18) See the Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. V, pp. 61-66.

REASONS FOR FAILURE.

The main loss to the Bank was solely due to depreciation of the house property and sad mistake committed by the Bank in preferring this type of security to all others. There was an entire sacrifice of the principle of the spreading of investments of the Banks. The depositors congratulated themselves on their good fortune for not having lost their property which fate befell all the depositors of the Agency Houses which failed just at that time. Even if we refer to contemporary history of Savings Banks in the United Kingdom we meet with similar failures of these institutions. Many of these started in the early years of the nineteenth Century from 1817-1841 failed as a result of series of frauds in the management which swallowed a quarter of a million of the hard-earned savings of the poor. The first postal savings bank was opened only in September 1861 as a result of Mr. Gladstone's efforts in this direction.

The expenses of the Bank amounted to roughly Rs. 150 a month. There was thus no sacrifice of the sound canon of economy in the management of the banking institution.

Although the Government appointed three ex-officio directors to help the Board in the management of the business still there was no other responsibility on the part of the Government arising out of the failure of the mortgages. The Government directors were indeed negligent in the matter of not insisting upon a prompt recall of all loans as soon as they realised the depreciation of the mortgaged property. They also tolerated the laxity of the officers in the respect of collecting all arrears in the matter of interest on the part of the defaulting borrowers. There was no attempt at foreclosing the mortgages and selling the property. The Government itself never communicated the fact of mismanagement to the depositors. From a contemporary paper (19) of this period it can be gathered that the Government originally intended to inform the depositors that there was no Government security behind the institution but this was not communicated even though it knew or had an inkling of the mismanagement of the B. M. Bank. One of the directors, Captain Rawlins suggested to the depositors the possibility of bringing a civil suit against the Government for this mismanagement. Two leading barristers were consulted on this point of Government responsibility. On their advice the suggestion of instituting legal proceedings against the Government was ultimately dropped. Most of the aggrieved depositors belonging to the 38th Regiment, private as well non-commissioned officers sent in a monster petition to the Government praying for mercy and refund of money. But nothing came out of this appeal.

The next mention of the B. Military Bank is made on 20th May, 1835 when it was stated that 60 per cent. of the deposit money was paid to the depositors. The last mention of the B. M. Bank was made in 1838 March when a further dividend of five per cent was declared. It was also decided that the "remaining properties were to be put to auction early next month

(19) See the *Bengal Harkani*, May 7th, 1835, quoted by the *Asiatic Journal*.

and it was expected that the proceeds will realise sufficient to give the depositors a further dividend of twenty per cent. making a total dividend say of 12 annas in the Rupee " (20).

The history of the Bombay Military Bank is an uneventful one. It was started in July 1829 and as soon as the Government Savings Bank was instituted in May 1835 the Bombay Government soon closed the B. Military Bank and gave the option to the depositors to transfer the account including the interest to the Government Savings Bank or withdrawing it altogether and all interest would be discontinued from 1st May, 1839 (21). Lack of space compels me to pass over the work of the Madras Military Bank (22).

THE NATURE OF THE MILITARY BANKS.

An attempt has been made to describe the methods and procedure of the Military Banks. From the above description it is apparent that they were no commercial banks issuing notes or post-bills intended for the accommodation of gentlemen living at or going to other settlements than Calcutta. They did no regular banking business nor purchase bullion. They did not receive deposits to be repayable at sight. Thus it appears that they were pure savings banks intended to promote savings on the part of the Military Officers under the service of the East India Company. They resemble closely the modern philanthropic or trustee savings banks. It was the result of the attempt on the part of the Government to improve the economic condition of the military classes. All the earnings after deducting the necessary expenses were to be divided among the shareholders in the form of interest which is to be credited to their accounts. The Government directors can be compared to the trustees who operate the modern trustee savings banks without taking any remuneration. Just as the modern trustee savings banks are safeguarded from unexpected calls on the part of the depositors so also the B. M. Bank established the convention of paying the drafts of the depositors half-yearly. The Banks were thus quite simple in character and confined themselves primarily to the business of collecting money and investment of the same without any risk. Thus their main business was to transfer capital and the manufacture of bank money was not their object. They had only the aim of redistributing capital amongst the points of highest yield but yet safe at the same time. The economy yielded by the Banks was the maximum of the earning capacity of the capital placed in their hands. They must also be considered as the legitimate forerunners of the Government Savings Banks which were later on established in the Presidency Towns between 1833 and 1835.

The correct and complete list of banks of this period started either by the Government or by the European settlers in this country would be as follows: —

(20) See the Asiatic Journal, 1838, March.

(21) See the Government Notification, dated 11th March, 1829 of the Bombay Castle, quoted in the Asiatic Journal, June 1839, p. 147.

(22) See the Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. I, 1886.

| NAME OF THE BANK. | DATE OF FORMATION. | BRANCHES. | HEAD OFFICE. | DATE OF CLOSING. | REMARKS. |
|--|--|---|--------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| (1) The First Government Bank of Madras. | 1683 | Nil. | Madras. | Not known. | Bank of deposit alone. |
| (2) The First Government Bank of Bombay. | 1720 | " | Bombay. | Ditto in existence in 1724 to 1783. | Originally planned as a Bank of Issue. |
| (3) The Bank of Hindostan ... | 1770 | " | Calcutta. | Failed in the awful crisis of 1831. | Symes Scutt mentions the fact of its reorganisation and its failure in 1866. But contemporary papers speak of its failure. They make no reference to this reorganisation. Symes Scutt does not give the source of this information nor does he quote any details of its operations after its reorganisation. |
| (4) The General Bank (Government Bank of Warren Hastings). | 1773 | Hugli, Nadia, Jessore, Burdwan, Midnapore, Birbhum, Bishnupur, Murshidabad, Pachiti, Dacca, Rajmahal, Dinajpore, Purnea, Rungpur, Bhagalpore. | " | Closed in 1775. | No failure of the Bank but owing to opposition in the Council it had to be closed. |
| (5) The Bengal Bank ... | Exact Year not known-in existence by 1784. | Nil. | " | Failed in 1891. | Stringency due to War-financing in the Calcutta Money Market might have led to its failure. |
| (6) The General Bank of India | 1785 | " | " | Failed in 1791. | Wound up according to terms of organisation. It was not reorganised as Cooke suggests. The very bank building was sold in 1791. (See Carey-Annals of Hon'ble John Company). |
| (7) The Carnatic Bank ... | 1788 | " | Madras. | Exact date not known. | Might have failed as a result of the competition of the Government Bank organised in 1805. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|--|---|-----------|-------|---|---|--------|
| (8) The British Bank | ... | Exact date not known-in existence in 1795. | " | " | " | " | Ditto. | ditto. |
| (9) The Asiatic Bank | ... | Ditto | " | " | " | " | Ditto. | ditto. |
| (10) The Second Government Bank of Madras. | ... | 1805 | " | " | " | Wound up or reorganised as the Presidency Bank. | No failure but reorganised as a result of Commercial agitation to have a more useful Bank. | |
| (11) The Bank of Calcutta | ... | 1806 | " | Calcutta. | " | Rechristened as the Bank of Bengal. | No failure but on receiving the Charter in 1809 the Government Bank as it was called became the Bank of Bengal. | |
| (12) The Bank of Bengal | ... | 1809 | No branches excepting agencies till 1861. | " | " | Amalgamated with the other Presy. Banks. | No failure; but as a result of amalgamation it has become the present Imperial Bank of India. | |
| (13) The Commercial Bank | ... | 1819 | Nil. | " | " | Exact date is not known. | Being started by the Agency House it must have shared its fortune. Displaced by the Union Bank. | |
| (14) The Bengal Military Bank | ... | 1821 | " | " | " | Wound up in 1836 | Failed as a result of depreciation of investment of real estate and house property. | |
| (15) The Calcutta Bank | ... | 1824 | " | " | " | Wound up to give place to the Union Bank. | On the ashes of the Agency Houses rose the Union Bank and the other banks would up their business to give place to the reorganised institution. | |
| (16) The Bank of India | ... | 1828 | " | " | " | Failed in 1829. | It could make no headway in the market as the organisers had no solid backing to support them in the interior. | |
| (17) The Military Bank of Bombay. | ... | 1829 | " | Bombay. | " | Wound up in 1839 | It was amalgamated with the G. Savings Bank in Bombay. | |
| (18) The Madras Military Bank | ... | ..... | ..... | Madras. | ..... | ..... |  |  |

| NAME OF THE BANK. | DATE OF FORMATION. | BRANCHES. | HEAD OFFICE. | DATE OF CLOSING. | REMARKS. |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---|--|--|--|
| (19) The Union Bank ... | 1829 | Singapore and Mirzapore. | Calcutta. | Failed in 1848. | For a decade it competed successfully with the B. of Bengal but mismanagement after 1839 led to failure. |
| (20) The Agra & United Service Bank. | 1833 | Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, London, Lahore, Canton. | Originally at Agra, soon transferred to Calcutta. | Winding up in 1894. | Symes Scutt says that it failed in 1900. He mentions no authority for his statement. |
| (21) The Government Savings Banks. | 1833 to 1835 | " | Presidency Towns. | Taken up by the Government Post Office. | No failure but management changed hands in 1896 from that of the B. of Bengal into the hands of the G. Post Office. |
| (22) The Bank of Mirzapore ... | 1835 | Nil. | Mirzapore. | Failed in 1836. | Clear proof of the fact that the people in the interior could not appreciate the services of banks. |
| (23) The North-Western Bank of India. | 1840 | London, Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Cawnpore, Simla, Mussoree. | Originally at Mussoree—then transferred to Calcutta. | Liquidated in 1859. | The management of this bank can be considered a typical example of bank mismanagement. |
| (24) The Bank of Bombay ... | 1840 | No branches till 1862 | Bombay. | Amalgamated with the other Presy. Banks. | It has become a part of the Imperial Bank of India. |
| (25) The Bank of Ceylon ... | 1840 | Agencies at Colombo, Madras, Bombay—Branch in Kandy. | Colombo. | The Bank amalgamated with the Oriental Bank of London in 1849. | As a result of amalgamation the reconstituted unit came to be known as the Oriental Banking Corporation. |
| (26) The Bank of Western India | 1842 | Colombo, Calcutta, Hong-Kong, Singapore. | Bombay—removed to London in 1846. | Did not fail. | To secure the privileges of 1845 Act of the United Kingdom removed its head office to London and became the Oriental Bank in 1846. |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|-----------|--|---|
| (27) The Agra Savings Fund .. | 1842 | Nil. | Agra. | Date of closing not known. | It might be that with the advent of G. Post Office Savings Bank it might have lost its business. |
| (28) The Bank of Madras .. | 1843 | No branches before 1860. | Madras. | Amalgamated with the other Presy. Banks. | It forms part of the present Imperial Bank of India. |
| (29) The Delhi Banking Corporation. | 1st Oct. 1844 Incorporated in 1860. | London, Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad, Lucknow, Mussoorie, and Madras. | Delhi. | Exact date of failure not known. | As a result of the successful working of the Alliance Bank of Simla this bank might have lost its business. |
| (30) The Simla and Umballa Bank. | 1st Nov. 1844 | Umballa. | Simla. | Failed in 1893. | As a result of its failure the void could be easily filled up by the progressive Alliance Bank of Simla. |
| (31) The Cawnpore Bank .. | 1st May 1845 | No branches. | Cawnpore. | Failed in 1851. | This bank can be considered as an inglorious example of bank mismanagement so common at that time. |
| (32) The Benares Bank .. | 1st Aug. 1845 | " | Benares. | Failed in 1850. | This bank should not be mistaken for the present Bank of Benares. Another splendid example of incompetent management. |
| (33) The Oriental Bank .. | 1846 | Board of Directors in Bombay: branches at Calcutta and Colombo. | London. | Amalgamated with the Bank of Ceylon in 1849. | In order to secure note-issue this amalgamation was carried out. |
| (34) The Commercial Bank of India. | 1845 | Calcutta, London, Canton and Shanghai. | Bombay. | Failed in 1866. | It took active part in speculation which was so rife in Bombay at that time. |
| (35) The Dacca Bank .. | 1846 | Nil. | Dacca. | Amalgamated with the Bank of Bengal in 1862. | It had purely restricted business. |
| (36) The Comptoir d'Escompte of Paris. | 1848 | Branches in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras & Pondicherry. | Paris. | Still working. | The first strong foreign exchange Bank to set foot into this country. |

| NAME OF THE BANK. | DATE OF FORMATION. | BRANCHES. | HEAD OFFICE. | DATE OF CLOSING. | REMARKS. |
|--|--------------------|--|--------------|--|--|
| (37) The Oriental Banking Corporation. | 1849 | Branches established in Scotland, Mauritius, Melbourne, Sydney and Galle. | London. | Failed in May 1884. | |
| (38) The Chartered Bank of Asia. | 1852 | No Branches. | " | Dissolved in Nov. 1886. | The Colonial Office did not favour it with a Charter to its own liking when it suggested amalgamation with another Bank. |
| (39) The Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China. | 1853 | Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, Singapore, Hongkong & Shanghai. | " | Still working. | |
| (40) The Mercantile Bank of India, London and China. | 1853 | Branches in Ceylon, Colombo & Candy; Agencies at Canton, London, Shanghai and Calcutta. | " | Wound up in 1857. | It was amalgamated with the Chartered Bank of Asia to form the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China. |
| (41) The London and Eastern Banking Corporation. | 1854 | Calcutta and Bombay | " | Failed in 1857. | |
| (42) The Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China. | 1858 | London, Calcutta, Madras, Singapore, Colombo, Hongkong, Shanghai, Kandy, Mauritius, Penang, London and Canton. | Bombay. | Wound up in 1902. | The assets and liabilities were handed over to the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd., 1892. |
| (43) The Central Bank of Western India. | Nov. 1860 | Calcutta. | " | Amalgamated with the Bank of Hindostan, China and Japan. | |
| (44) The Uncovenanted Service Bank. | 1846 | No branches. | Agra. | The Uncovenanted Service Bank was wound up about 1894. | |

It must not however be supposed that this list is an exhaustive one. All that can be claimed for it is that it is more exhaustive than that of the other lists mentioned in the early beginning of the chapter. The writer has come across various statements made by authoritative people of the attempts made to start banks in the interior. Messrs. Alexander and Co., which founded the Bank of Hindostan in 1770 in Calcutta also strove to start a similar institution in the interior. One Mr. Ballard a medical man of considerable skill was entrusted with the banking business of the bank started at Bhauleah. It did not succeed and had to be given up (23). Similarly an attempt was made on the Bombay side in the first half of the eighteenth Century by the Dutch people to start a bank. Apart from the fact that it worked for a few years no details are forthcoming. It must also be realised that this list does not include a large number of banks which were started as soon as the limited liability principle was accepted in 1861 and 1862. The Punjab Bank Ltd., the Sind Punjab and Delhi Banking Corporation Ltd., the People's Bank of India Ltd., and the Bank of Rohilkhand were organised during these years 1861 and 1862. All these banks are enumerated by C. N. Cooke in his *Banking in India* but they lie outside the scope of our survey.

THE AGENCY HOUSES.

Some information has to be given of the Agency Houses conducting semi-banking business along with trading and agency work. They were not only bankers attracting deposits and granting loans but "European shopkeepers, planters, ship-owners, proprietors of breweries, tanneries, distilleries, cotton, flour, and saw-mills." It is not wise to put them out of the category of financial intermediaries of this period for in those days when the European Banks were few and few Europeans were allowed to settle in the country it is these that conducted semi-banking business and founded pure banks to deal in a more comprehensive manner with the banking needs of the population. It is tolerably clear then that an account of their operations should be given as they were the pioneers of the banking trade in this country.

Crawford says that the Agency Houses had originally no capital of their own and they depended on the great annual savings of the Company's servants (24). This can be corroborated by another statement of an equally competent observer who says "that the Agency Houses were started chiefly of gentlemen who had been in the Civil and Military services who finding their habits better adapted for commercial pursuits obtained permission to resign their situations and engage in agency and mercantile business. They received the accumulations of their friends in the Company's service. They

(23) See Holt Mackenzie's Evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons—March 1832—Qns. 133 to 137.

(24) See J. Crawford, *Sketch of the Commercial resources and monetary and mercantile system of British India, 1837.*

lent them to others or employed them themselves for purposes of commerce—they were in fact the distributors of capital rather than the possessors of it. They made their profit in the usual course of trade and by difference of interest in lending and borrowing money and by commission. In course of time carrying on successful commerce many became the possessors of large capital and returned to England having most part of it there. The Agency Houses became the usual depository of a great portion of the savings and accumulations of the civil and military services in India" (25).

Although it was the above quotation alone that recent writers having been making use of not one of them has given us an idea of their real operations. More detailed information is available in the newspapers and magazines of that time. These describe not only the operations of these Agency Houses but try to place before the readers a description of the economic environment of this particular period. It was not the Company's servants in Bengal alone that were the sole depositors of their savings in the hands of the Calcutta Agency Houses. The officers of the Madras and Bombay Provinces remitted their savings to the Agency Houses at Calcutta. The natives of Calcutta also deposited their savings in their hands for roughly ten per cent was granted on these deposits. As the Government funds (i.e.) new loans did not pay this high rate and as this rate of interest fell from ten to five per cent. the deposits of the Agency Houses must have increased.

The money secured in this way was loaned out to people engaged in indigo business, silk or opium and cotton. Their *modus operandi* can be easily gathered by noting the way in which they helped the indigo planters (26). Their transactions with the indigo planters can be considered as typical of their operations. Twelve per cent. was the rate at which money was usually loaned out to them. It could not have been higher than that for the legal rate of interest could not rise above twelve per cent. But several other charges were however added viz., a charge of one per cent. for receipts and disbursements. Money was advanced to the planter monthly as subsistence allowance or money and petty charges were made on this amount. The produce had to be sent to the money-lending agent and the borrower had to pay commission for receiving and disposing it of. Altogether the rate they had to pay was about 18 per cent. or twenty per cent. on the borrowed money. Even in the matter of loans to civil and military officers the proceedings were of the same character. Twelve per cent was the legal rate that could be charged but charges had to be paid for receipts and disbursements. The borrowers had to insure their lives and for this the annual charges made amounted to the premium. Even this premium they never paid to the Life Insurance Office preferring to take the risk themselves so that it was only a trick to raise the interest rate little higher. This was how they always avoided the usury laws of the time.

(25) See the Evidence of T. Bracken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, March 1832.

(26) See Hon'ble F. J. Shore. "Notes on India."

It was not the ancillary banking business that has made them famous. Like the indigenous bankers of the time they attracted deposits and lent them. But these financial activities were overshadowed by those of the merchants, middlemen, brokers and industrialists. The partners of these firms could afford to live in "princely fashion" and in "the highest style of luxury." "Notwithstanding this lavish expenditure they often returned home with the most princely fortunes" (27). They could afford to become "the mercantile leviathans of the East." They combined in their hands the part of several characters in addition to the role of bankers. They were bankers, shipowners, merchants, and agents and possessed a complete "monopoly of the whole of the foreign and internal trade of the country which was then about six times as large as the British Isles."

THEIR NUMBER.

As to the exact number of the earlier Agency Houses nothing definite can be stated. But Hon'ble F. J. Shore says "that six or seven of these Agency Houses stood conspicuous in the City of Palaces." Crawford writing in 1837 gives us a list of the firms at the different trading centres. But several of them might have been created after 1813. With the opening of trade with India by the 1813 Charter Act the English merchants could send their own agents "who had moderate ideas and moderate salaries." It was the serious competition of these new houses that must be reckoned as the chief cause of the failure of the older Agency Houses which still continued to live in "aristocratic fashion" without contracting their speculative dealings, reducing their establishments and retrenching their personal expenses" (28). They continued their mercantile speculations as before in the same old style investing freely in houses in Calcutta, indigo works, coal mines, ships, coffee, and spice plantations, clearing desert islands as proprietors of land and working cotton, silk and flour mills. By 1825 their position became very risky so that a competent observer Mr. Trotter suggested the formation of new agency houses in place of the defective old Agency Houses (29). Nothing came out of his suggestion.

CAUSE FOR THEIR FAILURES.

The immediate cause for their failures was the withdrawing of money by their constituents on the pretext of sending remittances to Europe. After

(27) Of the dividends paid by the older Agency Houses an idea can be gained by a perusal of the following table.

| NAME OF THE AGENCY HOUSE. | | | | | RATE OF DIVIDEND PAID. |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------------|
| Palmer & Co. | ... | ... | ... | ... | Thirty per cent. |
| G. Mackillop & Co. | ... | ... | ... | ... | Twenty six per cent. |
| Alexander & Co. | ... | ... | ... | ... | Six per cent. |
| Fergusson & Co. | ... | ... | ... | ... | Thirty-six and half per cent. |
| Mackintosh & Co. | ... | ... | ... | ... | Fourteen per cent. |
| Colvin & Co. | ... | ... | ... | ... | Twenty-nine and half per cent. |

See the *Calcutta Review*, January—June, 1847, pp. 163-189.

(28) See J. W. MacLellan's Article on Banking in India, *Banker's Magazine*, 1893, pp. 50-58.

(29) See *Asiatic Journal*, December 1825, p. 617.

the failure of Palmer & Co., this became insistent and the Agency Houses borrowed by pledging property to satisfy the banking constituents' withdrawals. Their correspondents in England generally failed to honour their bills drawn on them by the Agency Houses and when this credit was refused they lost all banking business.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CATASTROPHE.

Messrs. Palmer & Co., was the first Company to fail and in spite of state support they could not withstand the shock. It failed in 1830 and the rest of the "princely mercantile houses" followed suit. It was Mr. Palmer who was styled the "Prince of the Calcutta Merchants" and earned for himself a statue or bust in the Calcutta Town Hall. Its bankruptcy was followed by Alexander & Co., Cruttenden & Co., and others. The general ruin that befell the depositors of the City was almost unparalleled. It caused unheard of ruin to widows and pensioners who had embarked their all in these houses depending with confidence on the security of baits held out in large interest for money invested in their firms. (30) The effect of the ruin of the Agency Houses did not fall mostly on the partners of the A. Houses for most of them realising the storm coming ahead returned home with fortunes leaving penniless adventurers to take their place in the fallen Agency Houses. Macaulay who landed in India just after failure of the A. Houses refers to the monetary stringency in the money market and its effect on the style of living of the company's officers.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

(Concluded)

(30) Compare Crawford's estimate with that given in the *Calcutta Review*. It is Crawford's estimate that is quoted by C.N. Cooke, p. 348.

The Indian Historical Records Commission.

ELEVENTH SESSION AT NAGPUR.

THE readers of *Bengal: Past and Present* have already been furnished with an account of the proceedings of the last ten sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission. I propose to give in this article a brief account of its eleventh session which was held at Nagpur in December 1928.

The public meeting of the Commission was held at the Convocation Hall of the University of Nagpur on the 5th December 1928. The proceedings were opened by His Excellency Sir Montagu Butler, the Governor of the Central Provinces at 11 a.m. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. In the unavoidable absence of Mr. G. S. Bajpai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, Mr. J. N. Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., late Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, acted as the Chairman of the session.

In welcoming the Commission on their first visit to the Central Provinces His Excellency referred to the fact that he had been the President of the Commission for two and a half years and during that time many important schemes were inaugurated. His Excellency had therefore much pleasure in hearing of the development of those schemes and he was specially interested to hear of the progress made in rendering the Imperial Records at Calcutta more accessible to scholars and in securing corresponding members for the Commission. He said that "in the nature of things the few distinguished scholars, who form the Commission itself, drawn as they are from different parts of a big continent, cannot personally investigate the historical records of India as a whole. They can form only a focus of activity, and provide the directing brain for research. The actual work of collecting and making available India's records must be done by local scholars." He next spoke of the Research scholars of Nagpur and said what was wanted was more such scholars and greater combination amongst them and expressed the hope that the Commission's visit to Nagpur would provide a fresh starting point in that direction.

In dealing with the history of the province His Excellency said that there might be many papers of historical value in the possession of private families and some were actually traced as a result of a hurried effort to trace such documents since the Commission announced its intention of visiting Nagpur.

His Excellency then spoke in praiseworthy terms of the useful work that is being done by the Commission and compared its work with that of the archaeological department of the Government of India.

Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., late Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University thanked the Governor on behalf of the Commission. He said that the Commission had profited by his sympathy and valuable guidance during his tenureship as the Secretary to the Government of India, and *ex-officio* President of the Commission and for this, even apart from his present hospitality as head of the province the Commission were grateful to His Excellency. Mr. Sarkar then gave a brief outline of the origin and growth of the Commission and the scope of its activities. He also spoke about the importance of the Historical Exhibition organised in connection with the meetings of the Commission. References were next made to the death of two of the corresponding members of the Commission, viz., Monsieur A. Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry and Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar, B.A., of Patna.

The present session was attended by representatives from the States of Hyderabad and Baroda. There was also one representative from the French Government of Pondicherry and as in the last session a paper based on the correspondence preserved in the Portuguese Government archives at Nova Goa was contributed for the public meeting by Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar, a Portuguese subject of that place. For the first time this year all the Universities in India were invited to send representatives to the public meeting of the Commission and delegates from seven of them attended the meeting. Altogether twenty-four papers were read at the public meeting of the Commission. (1) Some of them were published in previous issues of the *Bengal: Past and Present*. Brief summaries of others are here given.

Mr. Jadunath Sarkar in his paper gave a brief history of the dealings of English Residents, viz., David Anderson, Lieut. James Anderson and Captain Kirkpatrick with Mahadji Sindhia during 1781-1787. Maharaja Mahadji Sindhia rose from the position of a village headman to that of the dominating force in the politics of Upper India for nearly one generation. As a mediator between the English and the Peshwa, and later between the Emperor of Delhi and the rest of India, he was the pivot of Indian politics, and this position of unique importance and power he used for the good of all parties.

Only a small portion of contemporary records concerning him has been published by Messrs. Forrest and Parasnis. But there are four other sources

(1) (a) The Daniells in India, by Sir Evan Cotton.

(b) The Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, 1852-6, by Mr. D. G. E. Hall, M.A., I.E.S.

(c) The Last Days of Raja Chait Singh, by Mr. B. N. Banerji.

(d) A proposal for the establishment of an improved system of Telegraphic communication, by Lt.-Col. John Macdonald of the E. I. Co.'s Military Service, by Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., I.E.S.

(e) Commercial and Social intercourse between the Hon'ble East India Company and the Poona Court by myself; *Bengal: Past and Present*, Jan.-Mar. 1929.

(f) Some unknown dealings between Raghoba and the Portuguese, by Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences; See *Bengal: Past and Present*, April-June 1929.

in manuscript, namely (i) a very large mass of despatches and news-letters in the Imperial Record Department, (ii) the Persian memoirs (*Ibratnamah*) of Fakir Khair-ud-din, who was the confidential adviser of Shah Alam II's heir, (iii) collection of Persian news-letters now in Poona, and (iv) Marathi despatches preserved in private possession at Kotah and other places.

In 1788 William Palmer became Resident with Sindhia, and when Mahadji went to Poona (1792) on the visit from which he never returned in life, Palmer continued to stay in Sindhia's territory at Gwalior, Ujjain and other places.

Principal Rawlinson in his paper gave a brief account of the contents of the Parasnis collection at Satara. This collection of Marathi manuscripts consists of nearly one hundred 'rumals' varying in size from several hundred documents to a few dozens. Some of these have been published in *Itihasa Sangraha* and the *Bharata Varsha*. Others contain letters, selections from the Orme manuscripts, fragments of Bakhars etc. These include a bundle entitled *Original Notes of Malharrao Chitnis*. A very old document in the same bundle makes an interesting reference to the author of *Siva Bharata*, that remarkable Sanskrit poem about Sivaji which created a stir a few years ago when it was discovered in the Tanjore Palace Library. It appears that the author of the poem, a Brahman named Paramanand, was really a contemporary of Sivaji. There are also in the 'rumals'; six bundles of the correspondence of Nana Farnavis and large bundles of papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia.

Mr. G. S. Sardesai's paper gave an account of the Bhonsles. The work of the Bhonsles for some 60 years was very constructive; they planted their influence in an incredibly short time over a vast region of the east and the North of India, created order out of chaos, reclaimed various backward tribes, and offered them advantages of peace and civilization. But Peshwa Balaji Bajirao alienated the affections of these Bhonsles who began to work against the general interests of the Maratha Government and often joined Warren Hastings in the struggle between the Marathas and the British. When Siraj-ud-Dowla threatened the British existence in Bengal, it was the duty of Peshwa Balaji Rao to support the Nawab. But he remained unconcerned and thus weakened the power of the Bhonsles in Bengal. His successor Peshwa Madhavrao tried to retrieve the position and win back the Bhonsles to the Maratha cause of effecting the treaty of Kanakapur with Janoji Bhonsle of Nagpur on 23rd March, 1769. Some of the important articles of the treaty quoted in the paper show the exact position between the Bhonsles and the central Maratha Government conducted by the Peshwa. Many important papers relating to the Bhonsles are likely to be forthcoming if an investigation is made with the historic families inhabiting the Central Provinces.

The paper of Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar gave an account of Mr. James Strange the adventurous Madras Civilian who led between 1785-7 the Commercial expedition to the North-West Coast of America with a view to establishing Fur trade between China and America. The Madras

Record Office recently published his famous journal and narrative of the expedition, which, however, from the Commercial point of view was a failure.

The Rt. Rev. Alex. Wood, Lord Bishop of Nagpur gave a brief history of the rule of the Gond in Chanda.

Mr. Y. M. Kale in his paper gave the contents of some unpublished correspondence between Daulatrao Sindhia and Vyankoji Bhonsla. After the Marhatta Wars of 1803 peace was concluded between the English and Raghoji Bhonsla II. About this time it was the intention of Daulatrao Sindhia to combine the Marhatta powers in an united effort against the English but as Raghoji would not break with the British Daulatrao asked his brother Vyankoji who bore the title of Sena Dhurandhar to come over to Gwalior and serve under him. Atmaram, the wakil of Daulatrao Sindhia carried on the negotiations with Vyankoji, which however proved abortive owing to the vigilance of Raghoji Bhonsla.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his paper related an interesting incident in which Lingappa the energetic Governor of Poonamallee tried to get from the E. I. Company at Fort St. George a due share of its revenues for the Government at Golkonda.

Rev. H. Heras in his paper gave the Portuguese text and English translation of two documents preserved in the Portuguese Government archives at Pangim. The Portuguese had several small forts on the coast of Kanara and their Captains or Governors used to send accounts of the neighbouring countries to the Viceroy of Goa. The two documents referred to in the foregoing line belong to this category and were written in 1629 and 1630. They show that a number of petty states were subdued by Venkatapa Nayaka of Ikeri about the beginning of the 17th century. With the death of Venkatapa in 1629 and the enthronement of his successor Virabhadra Nayaka the petty chiefs revolted and as a result the whole country was plunged in wars.

Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari in his paper gave a short account of the origin and growth of the Poligar system in the Tamil country. This system was introduced by Visvanatha Nayak, the founder of the Nayak dynasty in the region of Madura (Cir. 1529-1564 A.D.). The chief co-adjutor of Visvanath in this work was Ariyanatha. Each one of 72 bastions in the fort of Madura was placed in charge of a particular chief. He had to pay a fixed annual tribute and to supply a quota of cavalry and troops to the central authority and maintain peace over a particular tract of country. In return he was given charge of a number of villages and the titles of Palaiyakaran (Poligar). The system of Poligars was productive of great evil in latter days. Poligars were often at war with one another and it was difficult to collect revenue from them due to the central authority. The system was suppressed by the British Government about 1801 and the Poligars' lands were assessed on the principles of Zemindary tenure.

Mr. H. N. Sinha in his paper gave an account of the embassy of H. T. Colebrooke at the Court of the Bhonsle Raghoji II, compiled from the Residency Records of Nagpur. Mr. Colebrooke was deputed by Wellesley

an ambassador at the Court of Raghoji on 23 July, 1798 with a view to effecting subsidiary alliance with the latter. The mission having proved unsuccessful Colebrooke was recalled in May, 1801.

Mr. T. Fernandez in his paper narrates how Raghoji Bhonsle II uniformly declined to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the English even when his independence was thwarted by an attack from the Pindaris. The negotiations for binding the Bhonsle Chief of Nagpur under such an alliance, which were commenced under the initiative of Marquess of Wellesley's government, were however continued and the alliance was at last formed in 1816 in the reign of the successor of Raghoji II through the instrumentality of the Regent Appa Saheb.

Mr. Hirde Narain in his paper gave a history of Gondwana during the 15th to the 18th centuries. The name of Gondwana was originally given to a tract of a country lying to the immediate south of the Satpura mountains. Later on, however, it was extended to the whole of the modern Central Provinces. During the 15th Century Gondwana was divided into four independent kingdoms—Garh-Katanga, Deogarh, Kherla and Chanda. The first named kingdom was the scene of the famous Rani Durgabati's heroic activities. On the death of her husband in 1548 she became the regent of her minor son Bir Narayan and exercised the real authority herself. In 1564 being defeated by the Mughal Viceroy Asaf Khan, preferring death to dishonour she died by her own hand to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. Her simple tomb called the Chabutra about 10 miles from Jubbulpore is still held in reverence by all.

Mr. K. R. Qanungo in his paper gave the Persian text with English translation of a few letters passing between Shah Shuja and the Emperor Shah Jahan. These letters are preserved in a private collection entitled Fayaz-ul-dawanin and throw interesting side-light on Shuja's administration of Bengal.

Mr. N. L. Belekar in his paper traced the origin and growth of the Bhonsla power of Nagpur and how it influenced the current of politics in Indian history till it was ultimately crippled by the Second Maratha War.

Mr. M. D. Sathe in his paper said that many records of historical value might be traced in Vidarbha from the old families of Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas, Kazis and Jahagirdars and he described some of the records that have been actually found throwing light on political, social and economic history of Vidarbha during the Mahomedan period.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth in his paper gave an account of Khojah Petrus an Armenian Merchant who was also a great diplomat and had been of great help to the English during the Bengal War of 1857 and also later on in their transactions with Mir Kasim.

Hakim Habibur Rahman in his paper discussed the question of the authenticity of the Last Will of Shaista Khan which formed the subject matter of an article read by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Abdul Latif at the 5th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

S. Md. Hyder Hasan Abidi in his paper gave a description of some of the exhibits collected from Berar.

The Historical Exhibition organized in connection with the Nagpur session of the Commission was formally opened by His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces at 4-30 p.m. on the same day in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. On arrival, His Excellency was photographed with the permanent and co-opted members of the Commission. The members of the Commission were entertained at a Tea party at the Exhibition Hall by the Secretary. The exhibits came from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions, and private individuals in Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad (Deccan), Central Provinces and the Andhra area of the Madras Presidency. A brief description of some of the exhibits is given below.

The exhibits from the Central Provinces collected through the efforts of Mr. J. B. Raju, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S. the Local Officer, comprised of old costumes of the Mughal Court presented by the Emperors, swords, guns, bows and arrows of historical interest, original sanads bearing the seals and signatures of reigning Peshwas, old copper coins of the Peshwa period and autograph letters of Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) recently unearthed from the archives of the Central Provinces Secretariat. Among the exhibits from Delhi were a number of very valuable paintings from the unique collection of Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and Rais of Delhi, who belongs to the family of the Treasurers to the Mughal Emperors. For the first time in the history of the family this collection was allowed to leave the confines of Delhi for exhibition elsewhere. The paintings of the darbar of the Emperor Akbar and of Shah Jahan on the Peacock Throne and Jahangir's marriage with Raja Man Singh's sister, were pronounced to be the best historical pictures of this collection. The exhibits collected in Calcutta from official sources included the Treaty with King Christen VIII of Denmark for transferring the Dutch Settlements in India to the English, the holograph minute of Lord William Bentinck on the general question of the abolition of the practice of Sati and other documents on the abolition of this practice in the dominion of the Raja of Nagpur in particular. Others included Leckie's description of a journey from Calcutta to Nagpur and from there to Benares in 1700 with an account of Nagpur, the facsimile of the seals of Shivaji, farmans relating to British trade in India (1633-1712) correspondence with C. W. Malet, Resident at Poona, on the subject of the establishment of a fixed and regular dak between Western India and the Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George. Among the exhibits obtained in Calcutta from non-official sources were an album of the portraits of the Ghoris kings prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jahan for his Royal library, autograph farmans of the Mughal Emperors, extremely rare copies of the Quran in Kufi characters and a first edition of the Bible in Bengali published in 1802 by the Mission Press at Serampore, Bengal. A number of rare and interesting exhibits was brought from Hyderabad by Mr. S. Khursheed Ali, the representative of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government. There was also a copy of the Quran written by Aurangzib himself belonging to Mr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad. Mr. R. Subba Rao,

one of the representatives of the Andhra University, brought with him old coins, copper plate sanads and palmyra leaf manuscripts of considerable interest.

In response to numerous requests from the public, the Exhibition was kept open till the evening of the 10th December.

On the morning of the 6th December the members of the Commission visited the Fort, the Old Residency, the Museum and the Record Rooms of the Central Provinces Secretariat at Nagpur. On the same day the members' meeting was held in the Committee Room of the University of Nagpur from 11 a.m. to 1-30 p.m.

The Local Officer Mr. J. B. Raju, gave a dinner party in honour of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the 4th December. The members of the Commission had the honour of dining with His Excellency the Governor at Government House, on the 5th December. There was also an after-dinner Reception at Government House which was attended by the elite of Nagpur. On the afternoon of the 6th December the members of the Commission were entertained by the Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Minister for Education, Central Provinces, at an "At Home" at the Telenkheri Gardens.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Editor's Note Book.

WE reproduce on the opposite page an illustration of "Claude Martin and His Friends," the famous portrait group by Zoffany, which is the property of Viscount Bridgman of Leigh. It is not only

"Claude Martin
and His Friends."

a beautiful work of art, but it possesses considerable historical interest, and its authenticity is beyond question. A

letter from Colonel Martin to Ozias Humphry, written from Lucknow and dated October 15, 1788, is preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy among the Humphry MSS. In this he says that he is "coming to Calcutta and intends sitting to Zoffany with Colonel Polier in the middle of November." The picture shows the interior of an apartment, with a group of nine figures. In the centre, beyond a table is Zoffany himself, seated at an easel and painting what appears to be a picture of two fakirs under a large banyan tree. On the left of the table stands Colonel Claude Martin, in a scarlet military coat; he is holding a pair of dividers in his right hand and is pointing to a plan which an Indian servant is exhibiting, of Constantia, the famous house built by him at Lucknow, and which he is explaining to Mr. John Wombwell, who is seated by his side in a blue coat and riding boots. On the right of the table is Colonel Anthony Polier, also seated, and wearing a scarlet uniform and a round fur hat of a peculiar shape; he is evidently giving orders to a servant who has brought him a *dali* of fruit and vegetable in a basket which is being held by an under-servant. Two other Indian servants are seen in the background on the left of the easel, playing with a monkey. On the wall behind are five exquisitely-painted pictures. All are landscapes with figures, and may well be some of those which we know were painted for Martin by Thomas Daniell. The Indian servant are admirably drawn, and the whole composition is full of life and spirit.

OF CLAUDE MARTIN it is unnecessary to give an account. Wombwell and Polier were intimate friends of his. We tells Humphry in his letter of

Polier and
Wombwell.

March 11, 1789, "written on my way to Lucknow, Benares," that they "went home last January" and that

"from them I expect a long Relation of their voyages, situation, their states of health, accommodation, and approval of their continuation in Europe." Both are represented in "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match." Colonel Anthony Polier, a Frenchman by descent and a Swiss by birth, was Chief Engineer at Calcutta in 1762, but resigned the Company's Service, as he was refused promotion on account of his foreign origin, and entered that of the Nawab of Oudh in 1776. He was murdered by robbers in 1793 on his way to Avignon. John Wombwell was the Company's Accountant at Lucknow and came out with George Frederick Grand on the *Greenwich* in 1776. He was a cousin of Sir George Wombwell, Chairman of the Court of Directors in 1777 and 1778.



COLONEL CLAUDE MARTIN AND HIS FRIENDS
BY JOHN ZOEFAN, R.A.
From the Picture in the Collection of Viscount Bridgewater of Leinster

NOTHING could better exemplify the vagaries of the auction-room than the fact that when this beautiful picture was offered for sale at Christie's

Vagaries of the
Auction-Room.

on June 28, it failed to reach the reserve of £1,500 which the owner placed upon it and was bought in for £1,100.

At the same sale, "The Dutton Family," another portrait group by Zoffany, was knocked down at the record price of 7,000 guineas to an American dealer, Mr. Dan H. Farr of Philadelphia. The want of appreciation with which Lord Bridgman's picture was received is difficult to understand. Except that the setting is Eastern, it is in no way inferior to "The Dutton Family" or to "The Young Family" which likewise realized 7,000 guineas at Christie's in 1928. But, although there is undoubtedly a "boom in Zoffany" at the present moment, the prices given during the present summer for pictures by him have certainly exhibited remarkable variations. A group of three gentlemen out shooting, probably members of the Nepean family, was sold by Puttick and Simpson on June 26 for 900 guineas. A theatrical composition—a scene from *The Provoked Wife* with Garrick in the character of Sir John Brute—fetched only £280 at Sotheby's on May 15: but two similar pictures from the collection of the Earl of Yarborough, which have frequently been exhibited and engraved—"The Farmer's Return to London," with Garrick as the Farmer, and a scene from *Love in a Village*—went for 3,400 guineas and 1,700 guineas respectively at Christie's on July 12. Lastly, an interesting picture representing Colonel Charles W. Brooke, the elder brother of Raja Brooke of Sarawak, as a boy, playing with "the young Nawab of Moorchedabad," realized £950 at Sotheby's on July 3. This was sold as the work of Zoffany: but Colonel Brooke who is shown as a boy of about six to eight years of age, was born at Burdwan in 1784, and Zoffany sailed for Europe in the *Gran Duchessa Maria Luisa*, a Tuscan ship, in January 1789. It is just possible that Zoffany may have gone to Murshidabad before his departure and painted the picture there. But Claude Martin, in a letter of March 11, 1789 to Ozias Humphry, says distinctly that "Zoffani went from Bennes in January to take his passage in the *Grande Duchesse*." The picture must have been painted between the years 1790 and 1792, and the style is so unlike that of Zoffany that the artist is quite likely to have been Francesco Renaldi whose portrait of Martin was engraved by Legoux and who is stated in a letter of October 4, 1795, from William Baillie to Humphry, to have been away from Calcutta for several years and to have "done very well at the different out-stations." Thomas Brooke, the father, was a Bengal writer of 1779, and was still in India as late as 1797, for he was judge of Beerbhoom in that year.

IN a letter which appeared in the overseas edition of the *Statesman* for May 30, Mr. Herbert A. Stark endeavours, on the strength of an extract from the *Friend of India* of 1835, to revive the ancient legend that there was at that time at Serampore a picture by Zoffany of Madam Grand in the character of Cleopatra dissolving a pearl in her cup. As Mr. Stark is credited by a Mr. Hammond

"A Missing
Zoffany."

Hall in the *Times* of July 3 with having thereby "unearthed evidence apparently unquestionable" of the truth of this statement, it may be as well to recapitulate the actual facts. There is such a picture, and an engraving of it may be seen in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum; but it was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1760 and the model was Kitty Fisher, "the Phryne of her day," who afterwards married a Mr. Norris and died in 1771. A copy of this picture was undoubtedly at Serampore in the house of Mr. John Clark Marshman, C.S.I., and there is nothing improbable in the suggestion made in the extract from the *Friend of India* that it was painted in the first instance for Colonel Ole Bic, the Danish Governor of the settlement, who befriended Joshua Marshman and Ward when they first came to Serampore, refusing to dismiss them at the request of the Council at Fort William, and who died at Serampore on May 18, 1805, at the age of 72. Marshman took the picture to England with him in 1853; and Dr. Busteed saw it in London in the house of his widow about the year 1887. Mrs. Marshman, on her death in 1899, bequeathed it to her daughter Mrs. Rowe; and it is no doubt still owned by that Lady or her descendants. Dr. Busteed examined it with the utmost care; and in a pamphlet entitled "The Serampore Portrait—is it Madam Grand?" which was published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. in 1903, he thus recorded the result of his examination (p. 6). "The richly coloured painting which was shown to me as the one [of Madam Grand by Zoffany] of which I was in search, was that of a beautiful young woman taken as Cleopatra dropping a pearl into a vase held in her left hand: but it bore no resemblance whatever to the kind of beauty of blonde colouring associated with Madam Grand." A reproduction of the engraving of Sir Joshua's picture is given by Dr. Busteed, and in a footnote on the same page he adds: "In spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary it [Mrs. Marshman's painting] is still believed by the family to be the portrait of Madam Grand by Zoffany." Such is the origin of the myth—for myth it must be pronounced to be.

TO those who are disposed to accept the family tradition as conclusive, it may be pointed out that no guide could be more unsafe, in the absence of corroborative evidence. A portrait of Warren Hastings was sold for £200 at Christie's on June 28 last, it was plainly and unmistakeably one of the many replicas of the fine portrait by Lamuel Abbott, which was once at Daylesford and is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall. Nevertheless, the words: "Sir William Beechey, R.A., Warren Hastings, 1816;" were boldly painted on the frame; and it was ascertained that the picture had been for many years in the family of the vendor and had always been attributed to Beechey. Sir William Beechey undoubtedly painted a portrait of Hastings shortly before the latter's death in 1818, and it was engraved in 1817 by William Skelton; but no two pictures could be more dissimilar in composition than the picture sold at Christie's and the picture engraved by Skelton.

Family Tradition
and Fact.

IT so happens that there are at least two authentic portraits of Madam Grand: and both of them are reproduced by Dr. Busteed in the fourth and latest edition of his *Echoes from old Calcutta*, which was published in 1908. The first of these is a small full-length, painted about the time of her marriage to Talleyrand in 1802; it is in the Musée at Versailles where it hangs between the portraits of Mme. Récamier and Talleyrand himself. Mr. A. Lehuraux of Chandernagore, who was until very recently a member of the Calcutta Historical Society and is now in Paris, informs the present writer, on the authority of the Curator of the Musée, that it is a *petite esquisse*, or study by Girard of a larger painting which was at one time at the château of Valençay, the country seat of Talleyrand. The other portrait is by Mme Vigée Le Brun; and besides the illustration given by Dr. Busteed, a reproduction of it may be found in M. de Nolhac's book on Mme. Vigée Le Brun (Edition Floury). There is not the faintest resemblance between the features of Madam Grand as represented in these pictures and the features of the lady dissolving the pearl in her cup.

MR. STARK likewise mentions an oil-painting which hangs in the great hall of Serampore College and which "is believed to be a portrait of Madam Grand by Zoffany." This fallacy, like the other, was exploded a quarter of a century ago. It was then established by Dr. Busteed beyond all doubt, in the pamphlet from which we have already quoted, that this painting is a portrait of Princess Louisa Augusta of Denmark, niece of our King George the Third. The adjoining portraits are those of her husband, Prince Frederick Christian of Augustenburg, her brother Frederick the Sixth of Denmark (1808-1839), who was a firm friend of the Baptist Mission, and the wife of that King. These four pictures were left behind by Mr. J. C. Marshman when he returned to England and were handed over to the College in 1874 by Dr. George Smith, C.I.E. It may be noted here that Mr. Reginald Marshman, in the course of a letter written to the *Englishman* on March 20, 1901, described this second Serampore portrait as a "copy" of the Cleopatra which his father took away with him! Here is confusion worse confounded, for the two pictures are absolutely different.

ALTHOUGH both these legends have been killed by Dr. Busteed, it must be acknowledged that it was for many years an article of faith with Serampore sightseers that the second picture was a portrait by Zoffany of Madam Grand. And it is certainly a curious fact that Sir John Kaye, in his bitter essay on Francis in the second volume of the *Calcutta Review*, for December 1844, does speak in so many words of "Madam Grand's" portrait by Zoffany, now adorning the walls of Mr. Marshman's residence at Serampore, and that Marshman, when commenting on the essay in the same year in the

Portraits of
Madam Grand.

The other Seram-
pore Portrait.

Contemporary Evi-
dence versus Chro-
nology.

Friend of India, corroborates the statement. It is equally strange, in view of what we now know, to find Miss Emily Eden handing back the tradition still further. Writing from Barrackpore on April 19, 1837, she says: "I have such an interesting portrait to copy just now, a portrait by Zoffany of Madame Talleyrand, when she was in this country as Mrs. Grand." But, apart from these references, it is quite certain that Zoffany, if he did paint Madam Grand, could not have painted her for Colonel Bie at Serampore, or anywhere else in India. Zoffany arrived at Calcutta on board the *Lord Macartney* Indiaman in September 1783: and there can be no doubt that the following paragraph in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* for December 2, 1780, refers to Madam Grand's departure from India: "Samuel Tolfrey, Esq. [one of Francis' attorneys at the trial] has embarked for Europe with a fortune of three lacks of rupees; he intends proceeding from Celon [sic] or Coringa in the Dutch ship that carried home Mrs. G—d."

THERE is another inaccuracy in Mr. Stark's extract from the *Friend of India* of 1835 which needs attention. "The scene of Madam Grand's Elopement," we are told, "was in this little town [Serampore]; and the wall still exists at which Sir Philip is supposed to have planted his ladder." There was never any "elopement," and such material as we possess must lead to the conclusion that "the red garden-house a short distance from town," in which George Francis Grand lived with his child wife, was in the modern Alipore-Lane. Francis' own "garden house," his *villa inter paludes*, is now and has been for many years the official residence of the Magistrate and Collector of the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs; and, according to the evidence given at the trial, he walked over from one to the other. Grand was supping with Barwell at Le Gallais' tavern in Tank-square when the news was brought to him that Francis had been surprized in his wife's room. He rushed off immediately and arrived at his bungalow to find that Francis had escaped and that his companions were in custody. No "elopement" therefore took place. After Francis had been cast in damages, Madam Grand lived under his "protection" at Chandernagore and later on at Hooghly: but there is no mention of Serampore in Francis' diary.

A PORTRAIT by Romney of Major-General Patrick Duff (1742-1803), who was known throughout the Bengal Army as "Tyger" Duff, was sold for 2,600 guineas at Christie's on July 5. The picture was painted in 1790 and the artist received 30 guineas for it: an engraving by C. H. Hodges was published in 1791. Duff, who was a man of prodigious strength, owed his nickname to a story that as he was leaving the mess bungalow at Dum Dum late one night, he was met on the verandah by a tiger which sprang at him, whereupon he seized the animal by the jaws and tore them asunder by main force. He was on furlough in

Europe from 1788 to 1790, when the picture was painted: and his name is in the list of passengers by the *William Pitt* Indiaman which arrived at Diamond Harbour on August 10, 1790. His career, as related by Major Hodson, was a remarkable one. He came out to India in 1760 as a gentleman volunteer in His Majesty's 89th Regiment (Morris's Highlanders) and was present at the battle of Buxar. Transferring to the Bengal Artillery, he found himself in May 1766 implicated in the "Batta Mutiny" and was sent down to Calcutta from Bankipore under arrest but was subsequently reinstated in his rank. After serving before Seringapatam in the campaign of 1791-1792, he was appointed to the command of the Presidency district in 1797, but retired at the end of that year and died at Edinburgh in 1803.

A VERY good example of how history is mis-written, is afforded by a paragraph which appeared in the *Times* of June 30. In the course of a description of a collection of ship models, paintings and prints of sailing ships which has been made by Mr. Nelson Dawson a marine painter and etcher, and which may be seen at the guardship studio, Church Street, Chiswick, attention is drawn to "an excellent oil painting of the retaking of Calcutta by a fleet of the Hon. East India Company's ships only 17 days after the Black Hole in 1756"; and we are further told that "by the oddest coincidence a manuscript marginal note referring to the principal ship represented, the *Walpole* was found in a volume of the *History of England* by Rapin de Thoyras, published in 1788, which had been purchased for quite another reason." The present writer has been favoured with a photograph of the painting. It represents four Indiamen with sails set, in what is evidently the estuary of a river, as a coast of jungle can be seen in the background. There is nothing to indicate the retaking of Calcutta, or any military operation. The manuscript note in the margin of the book is to the following effect: "Augne. styles was at the taken [sic] of Calcutta in the ship *Walpole*, Capt. Francis Fowler, as a midshipman on board that ship of the E. I. Companys"; but it cannot be connected in any way with the painting. Mr. Dawson informs the writer that when he acquired the picture, it was not in good condition and the name-block with title was illegible, except for a letter or two in places, "so that the subject had to be partly surmised." As regards the historical facts, it is necessary to observe that Calcutta was not "retaken by a fleet of the Hon. East India Company's ships only 17 days after the Black Hole of 1756." That tragedy took place on June 21, 1756: news of the capture of Calcutta by the "Moors" reached Fort Saint George on August 16: Admiral Watson sailed from Madras with his squadron of King's ships on October 16; and H. M. S. *Kent*, the flagship, arrived at Fulta on December 15—*six months* after the Black Hole Tragedy,—and was quickly followed by the *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgwater* and *Walpole*: of these the last only was an Indiaman. It was not until January 2, 1757, that Admiral Watson proceeded up the river to Fort William with the *Kent* and *Tyger* alone; the *Walpole* "dropt up to Calcutta" on January 8.

Mis-written
History.

THE Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan has bought from a London dealer the two historical pictures by Tilly Kettle of which an account was given in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1926 (Vol. XXXII, pp. 147-148). They are very large in size: measuring about ten feet by eight and a half feet. One of them represents the signing of the treaty of Fyzabad in 1772 and contains portraits of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daula, and his four sons, and of Sir Robert Baker with his aide-de-camp, Capt. Cockerell and Capt. Harper, and Mr. Davy, the Persian interpreter. The other picture shows the Emperor Shah Alam reclining in his tent of State and watching a review of the third brigade of the Company's troops "in the plains of Allahabad." He is surrounded by his principal attendants, and an English officer stands by his side with a sepoy, explaining the various evolutions of the troops. Both pictures were painted for Sir Robert Barker, who commanded the artillery at Plassey and was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Bengal in 1770; and were hung by him at Busbridge Park, near Godalming. They passed subsequently into the possession of Mrs. Webb of Milford House, an adjoining estate, whose husband was connected with the family of Sir Robert Barker: and were privately sold by her in 1927 to the dealer from whom the Maharaja has now acquired them. They have been placed, we understand, in the Palace at Burdwan, where there is already an interesting collection of pictures, including a fine portrait by Chinnery of Raja Pratap Chand (1792-1821) the son of Maharajadhiraj Bahadur Tej Chand.

TWO pictures of the Fort at Agra were exhibited by William Daniell at the Royal Academy in 1795 and 1835: and in both cases the view is said to be taken from "the ruined palace of Islam Khan Rumi," who is stated in the description of the second picture to have been "the Chief Engineer of the Emperor Humaion." The building is no longer to be found at Agra; and there is no mention of it in the better-known books on the city. Sir Richard Burn, to whom reference was made, has solved the problem. In a little volume on the history of the Taj and the buildings in its vicinity by Maulavi Muhammad Moin-ud-din (Noon Press, Agra, 1905) the information is given that the Mac Donnell Park, which lies between the Fort and the Taj, occupies the site of the palace and grounds which went by the name of Islam Khan Rumi, and that the house stood on the river side of the road, midway between the two places. "It was so large, so grand, so lofty, and so splendid that the story of it is still told among the people, although its existence ceased long ago." It was built by Mukarrab Khan, known at the Mogul Court as Rustam Khan (*Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, p. 275, note i), who was killed when fighting for Dara Shikoh at Samugarh, eight miles to the east of Agra Fort, in 1658. Aurangzeb then confiscated the building and gave it to Husain Pasha, who had been *beglarbegi* of Basra and had fled to Persia and thence to India where he arrived in 1669 (*Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 187, note i). He received the title of Islam Khan and was made governor of Malwa; but in 1672 fell

out of favour and was later on sent to the Deccan where he was killed in battle in 1676. Manucci mentions that the exiled King of Kashgar was lodged in 1673 "in the house of Rustam Khan," so that the place seems to have reverted to its old name. Parts of the palace were in existence in 1857, and even as late as 1872. It will be seen from the foregoing that Islam Khan had no connection with Humayun.

LORD CLIVE'S furniture was sold by auction on July 22 at Walcot, the house near Craven Arms in Shropshire, which was built about 1760 for the Baron of Plassey by Sir William Chambers R.A. the architect of Somerset House in London. Included in the sale was a Persian carpet, 45 feet by 18 feet, which was described in a letter to the second Lord Clive (Governor of Fort Saint George from 1798 to 1803) as "the handsomest ever manufactured in that country." It "had to traverse 1,500 miles over a country void of any wheeled conveyance, with the interior in a state of predatory warfare."

IN these days, when moustaches are almost out of fashion, and even Muhammadan gentlemen go clean-shaven, it is entertaining to read the following Mustachios. in an account of Mountstuart Elphinstone's mission to Kabul, which appears in the Calcutta Monthly Journal of January 24, 1809: The gentlemen of the Embassy were carefully cherishing their mustachoes; the want of that essential appendage of manhood being considered in a very equivocal light among a people purely Asiatic.

Lady Nugent who visited Delhi in December 1812 mentions two young civilians whom she met there and who "wear immense whiskers, being as much Hindoos as Christians, if not more." And Thackeray, it will be remembered, presents Colonel Newcome as "a gentleman with a lean brown face and long black mustachios, dressed in very loose clothes." He relates also how Jos Sedley, the Collector of Boggleywollah, hurriedly shaved off his moustaches, in order to avoid being taken for a military man, when the first news of a French victory at Waterloo reached Brussels.

WE have received from Khan Bahadur Bomanjee D. Pudumjee of Bombay a copy of the second edition of his "Notes on Sivaji's Sword, and Sivaji's Portrait." It has been generally supposed that Sivaji's sword, the famous Jai Bhowani, is at Satara: but it has been ascertained that the inscription upon the blade is the equivalent of "Sirkar Raja Shahu Chhatrapati Kar," which would appear to connect the weapon with Sivaji's grandson rather than with himself. There is no foundation for the statement often made that there is

another Bhowani tulwar in the South Kensington Museum. The only known sword-relic of Sivaji in England is a weapon in the Royal Collection of Arms and Armour which was presented by the Maharaja of Kolhapur, a descendant of Sivaji to King Edward VII when he visited India in 1875-1876 as Prince of Wales. This sword has a straight one-edged European blade double-grooved on either side and stamped with the Christian monogram "I. H. S." (Iesu Hominum Salvator) in three places. The genuine sword would seem to be in the possession of the Khan Bahadur, who acquired it many years ago at an auction sale at Poona. When it was cleaned in 1912 by Mr. D. P. Moos of Bombay, the words "Chhatrapati Maharaja Sivaji" in Devanagri characters were found on the blade inlaid in gold. The blade is curved with a slight concavity in the middle; and the gilt is chased with small gilt flowers. According to the Satara Gazetteer (1884) which was compiled by Sir James Campbell, the sword of Afzal Khan and Sivaji's favourite Bhowani tulwar passed to the Moguls on the capture of Sambhaji in 1690. They were restored to Shahu by Aurangzeb in 1707 and "until 1827 remained a valuable trophy in the armoury of Sivaji's descendants."

THE KHAN BAHADUR is also the owner of an old oil painting measuring 3½ feet by 4 feet, which is believed to be a contemporary portrait of Sivaji and two of his favourite generals—Baji Fasalkar on the right and the famous Tanaji Malusre on the left—reconnoitring on horseback at the foot of one of the many Deccan hill-forts. The Mahratta hero is represented facing the spectator: whereas in the other known portraits (of which there is one at the British Museum and another at Paris) the face is in profile. The artist would seem to have been a European, but only the letter R in red colour is faintly visible in the corner of the canvas. A reproduction of the picture is given in the Khan Bahadur's pamphlet.

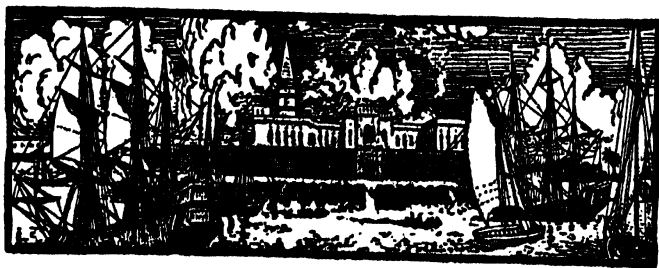
COLONEL W. H. BECKETT, who died at Cheltenham on June 16 at the age of 92, is believed to have been one of the last survivors of the Mutiny of 1857. He was the youngest son of Captain William Beckett of the 9th Bengal Infantry, who was admitted as a cadet in 1819 and died at Allahabad in 1844 at the age of 46. Through his mother who was a daughter of Major Robert Durie of the 11th Light Dragoons, he was related to Lieut.-Colonel Robert Durie Osborn (1835-1889), the author of *Islam under the Arabs* (1876) and *Islam under the Khalifs of Bagdad* (1877), who was for some years tutor to the Paikpara wards in Calcutta. As a boy he was sent to England for his education but returned to India in 1854 at the age of seventeen with a nomination as ensign in the 101st Foot (Bengal Fusiliers). During the Mutiny he was at the Thomason Engineering College at Roorkee and with the other cadets was employed in patrolling the surrounding country. Two

Sivaji and His
Favourite Generals.

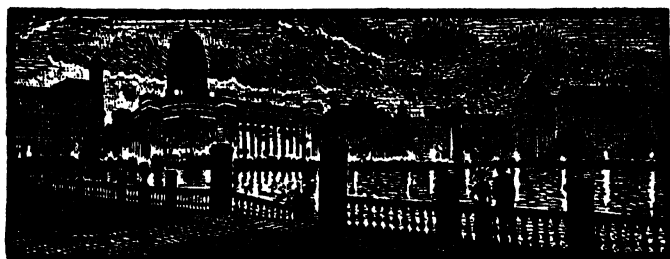
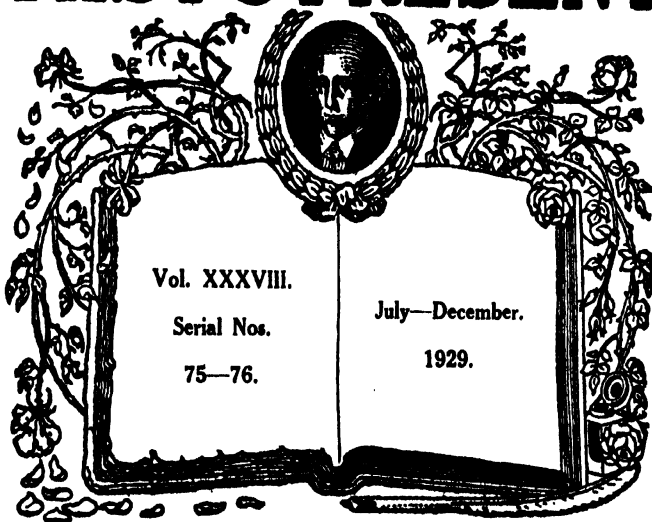
Memories of 1857.

of his sisters, Mrs. Haig and Mrs. Huxham, who died a few years ago at the ages of 97 and 96, were survivors of the siege of the Lucknow Residency. Mrs. Huxham's husband, Lieut. Huxham of the 48th Bengal Infantry, was twice wounded, and one of her two children died during the siege.

THE death on July 3 of Maharaja Sir Rameshwara Singh Bahadur of Durbhanga has deprived the Calcutta Historical Society not only of one of its Vice-Patrons but also of one of its original members. In him, as *The Times* has observed in its obituary notice, the old order and the new in India were intermingled: for he was at the same time a scholarly lover of modern art and literature, a distinguished public servant, and an orthodox Brahman who for nearly thirty years was president of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, an All-India Hindu organization with its headquarters at Benares.



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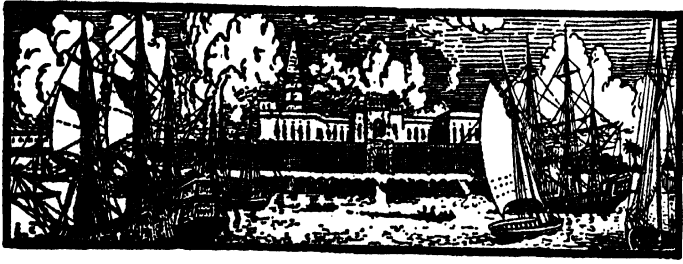
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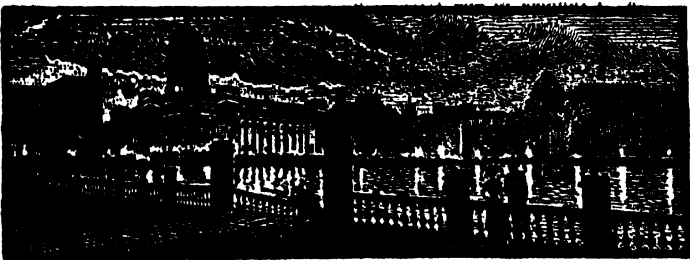
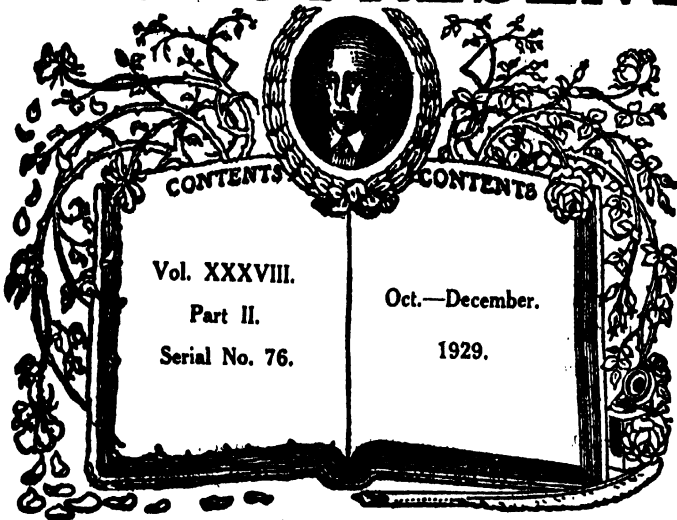
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THE OLD COURT HOUSE :
Demolished in 1792.
From a sketch by Colonel Francis Smith Ward.



THE SUPREME COURT AT CALCUTTA: 1830.
From an original sepia drawing by William Wood, Junior.

The Sheriffs of Calcutta : 1727-1930.

PART II.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII, p. 14.)

IN 1782 we have in John Hare the first of a succession of Advocates of the Supreme Court. It had been discovered that the office of Sheriff was one of considerable emolument: and the Judges began to nominate their protégés in turn, while the approval of the Council became more and more of a formality. Hickey writes (Vol. IV, p. 210):

In former times the situation of Sheriff was thought of with the utmost dread and alarm from an idea of the prodigious responsibility and risk attached to it, consequently no person ever courted the appointment: on the contrary, every one was most anxious to avoid it. The Deputy, who always was an Attorney of the Court, in order to be supposed qualified to execute the business of the office, aware of the immense advantages attached to the situation, was, of course, prudent enough to keep the secret to himself, quietly pocketing the whole of the fees. But when a set of English lawyers succeeded to the Bench, theretofore filled by a Mayor and Alderman, the matter became changed: their learned lordships soon discovered that the Shrievalty was a place of emolument well worthy their attention. They therefore claimed the right of appointing to it, which claim not being resisted, it thenceforth remained in their gift.

In the days of Sir Elijah Impey (proceeds Hickey) a Sheriff has been known at the end of his year to have cleared a lakh and thirty thousand rupees, "nearly equal to seventeen thousand pounds sterling!" The office of Deputy Sheriff was no less profitable.

In those days the Deputy, notwithstanding he was the executive person received only five hundred rupees a month, which was paid to him by the principal, but of late, the Deputy being generally a person patronized by one of the Judges, it has been stipulated at the nomination of the Sheriff that he should divide the profits of the Shrievalty equally with his Under Sheriff. I officiated seven different years as Deputy or Under Sheriff (1): the largest sum I ever received for my share of the profits during any one

(1) As a matter of fact, Hickey served as Deputy to the following eight Sheriffs: Robert Morse (1784), Levi Ball (1795), Francis Macnaghten (1797), Edward Thoroton (1801), Edward Benjamin Lewin (1803), Stephen Laprimaudaye (1805), Henry Churchill (1806) and James Archibald Simpson (1807). Sir Henry Russell, on his arrival in 1798, appointed his clerk Edward Lloyd (whom he also enrolled as an attorney) to be Deputy Sheriff for 1799.

of the year being twenty-five thousand sicca rupees, equal to three thousand one hundred and twenty-five pounds.

Hickey also gives the following description of the procedure:

Upon the first Tuesday in the month of December, their Lordships accordingly met at Chamber in the Court House, when the Judge whose turn it was to nominate, put down three names in writing, delivering the same to the clerk of the Crown, when that officer immediately carried such written list to the Council House and presented it to the Governor-General and Council, who thereupon caused their Secretary to write opposite the first of the three names (it having been previously arranged between the Government and the Judges that the first person named was the one intended to fill the office) "Sheriff for the year 179—." The document being conveyed back to the Judges, they directed the clerk of the Crown to take the necessary steps to establish the person in the office. The Sheriff-elect next attends before the Governor-General and Council in order to be sworn in, and upon the 20th of the same month of December, enters upon the duties of the office.

The Sheriff's officers in those days were apt to be roughly handled. Mr. Julius Soubise was on August 21, 1786, committed to jail by Mr. Justice Hyde for firing a pistol loaded with ball at Hendrick Deatker, a Sheriff's officer, who had arrested him for debt (2). William Hickey (Vol. III, p. 247) describes Deatker, to whom he gives the Christian name of Frederick, as a Dane by birth and "a daring, savage kind of fellow whom from a ferocity of manner and being remarkably ill-looking I had always greatly disliked." Hickey was then (1784) Deputy Sheriff, and he goes on to say that "from some irregularities I had detected him in I would long ago have dismissed him from office but that in those days we found it extremely difficult to procure any sort of European to act in the capacity of bailiff." Deatker was also a constable and "was considered the best of the whole set, which made him a favourite with the judges, and more especially so with Mr. Justice Hyde" (3). A long account follows (Chapter XVIII) of "a perversion of justice in an extraordinary case" before Hyde, in which Deatker was the successful defendant in two different actions for trespass, assault and false imprisonment brought against him by two of Hickey's clients—Captain Griffin of the Madras Cavalry, and Mr. George

(2) Some eight months earlier (December 12, 1785) we find Mr. Julius Souvise announcing in the *India Gazette* that he has again opened his fencing school at the Harmonic Tavern where he attends three days a week and will give instruction for two gold mohurs a month "and one entrance"; the intermediate days in each week "he intends to appropriate to dressing horses."

(3) Another constable mentioned by Hickey (Vol. II, p. 179) was John Roop, "an old German." Hawkesworth in the *Fast Indian Chronologist*, says of him, in recording his death on January 3, 1798, that he was "a survivor of the Black Hole, having resided in Calcutta 51 years; he came out in a Dutch ship in 1746."

Peter Tyler of the Madras Civil Service who had come to Bengal in 1782 with Sir Eyre Coote as his assistant secretary and was at the time "paymaster to the Madras detachment" (4). According to the Calcutta Directory for 1813, Deatker ended his life in the Calcutta jail on December 15, 1812.

Jonn Hare (1782), Jeremiah Church (1783), Robert Morse (1784) Philip Yonge (1785) and Stephen Cassan (1786) were all advocates. Hare figures prominently in the letters of Mrs. Eliza Fay who disliked him extremely. The episode in which they figured together on their way out to India is thus related in the Fort Saint George Military Country Correspondence (Vol. XXIX, pp. 22-23): "14th February 1780. Copy of a letter from the Governor [Sir Thomas Rumbold] to Hyder Ally, requesting the release of Mr. Hare and ten other Europeans who were imprisoned in Calicut by Sadar Cawn." Their captivity lasted from November 4, 1779, to February 7, 1780: and Hare came on at once to Calcutta and was sworn in as an advocate on March 28. Hickey came across Hare in London in 1771 in the course of an encounter with "Mohawks" in Covent Garden and tells us (Vol. I, p. 276) that "from his strong recommendations he obtained from the Government a contract so advantageous as to enable him in four years to set out on his journey to Europe overland." He never reached his destination: for we know (orig: Cons: Bengal, November 8, 1784) that he was murdered by Arabs after leaving Basra for Bagdad on March 28, 1784. He was employed with Mrs. Fay's husband to defend James Augustus Hickey of the *Bengal Gazette* in the action for libel which Warren Hastings brought against him.

Jeremiah Church and Stephen Cassan were admitted as advocates on the same day (November 12, 1782). The death of the former in February 1788 is recorded by William Hickey (Vol. III, p. 342): "we lost Mr. Jeremiah Church, an advocate of the Supreme Court, a good-humoured pleasant man of considerable talents, he was taken off very suddenly with one of those violent fevers so prevalent in Bengal." Cassan was the son of an Irish member of Parliament and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He had the misfortune to marry a lady, Sarah Mears the daughter of the Captain of an Indiaman (5), whom Hickey describes (Vol. IV, p. 4) as "a strange, rattling, wild creature, profuse and extravagant in the greatest degree." As a result he "became so deeply involved in debt as to make a change of residence necessary." He therefore suddenly embarked for

(4) Tyler remained in Bengal until 1822, and died at Madras, where he was cashier of the Government Bank, on October 18, 1834, at the age of 75. He was the brother of Admiral Sir Charles Tyler, G.C.B., and the father of two Bengal civilians—William Hardinge Tyler (1824-1854, died 1891) and Edward Francis Tyler (1827-1855: died 1880). See J. J. Cotton, Madras Monumental Inscriptions, No. 485.

(5) Captain Charles Mears commanded the *Egmont* from 1763 to 1778, and was in command of the *Brilliant* when she was wrecked off the island of Johanna on August 28, 1782. See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1810 (Vol. 80, p. 658), quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 171.

Bombay with a view of practising there in the Mayor's Court (6), and "met with all the success he could expect or hope for." The *Madras Courier* of February 14, 1794, reports his death "on his passage from Bombay to the [Coromandel] Coast on board the *Success*, Capt. Smith, a few days after putting to sea," and describes him as "a gentleman whose uncommon virtues and talents, animated by the most animated disposition, equally recommended him to Society and endeared him to his friends." His wife and child came on to Madras and sailed for Europe in the *William Pitt* (*Madras Courier*, January 1, 1795). They were left without provision, and a fund, to which Hickey contributed, was raised for their relief. The son, Stephen Hyde Cassan, who was evidently a godson of the judge, was born in Calcutta in 1789 and died in 1841: he became a clergyman and was the author among other works of lives of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury. His uncle Matthew Cassan, who was a major in the Queen's County Militia, married Sarah Forde, the daughter of Colonel Francis Forde, the victor of Condore and Biderra, who was with Clive at Plassey and captured Masulipatam in 1759, and who perished with Luke Scrafton and Henry Vansittart the elder, in the wreck of the *Aurora* frigate in 1770.

Robert Morse (1784), who was admitted to the Supreme Court Bar on November 12, 1777, was Hickey's first Sheriff, and Hickey relates (Vol. III, p. 20) how they attended an execution together in January 1784. He had come out with Hickey on the *Seahorse* and had acquired a large practice. But in 1781 he accepted the post of paymaster to the troops sent overland from Bengal to the Coromandel coast. Resigning after seven months he returned to the Bar; and after this "whimsical experiment," writes Hickey, "he sat whole days in Court unemployed." His sisters married Nathaniel Middleton and William Cator, both of the Company's service: and Zoffany painted a portrait group of them.

For some reason or other, Morse seems not to have served his term of office as Sheriff; for the name of Stephen Bagshaw, an ex-officer of the Bengal Army who had become an attorney and who died in Calcutta on September 9, 1786, appears in the list as Sheriff for part of the year 1784. There is a reference to Bagshaw in Mr. Justice Hyde's note-books, which are preserved in the Calcutta Bar Library and from which extracts were given in an early volume of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. III, p. 58). On January 23, 1782, he presented a petition to the Judges on behalf of James Augustus Hickey of the *Bengal Gazette*, "a prisoner, on judgment against him for libels on the Governor-General," in which complaint was made of the difficulty in procuring counsel and attorneys. Hickey being in custody, the petition was put in by Bagshaw as "a deputy of the Sheriff," John Hare, who had, in fact, acted as one of Hickey's counsel at the trial.

(6) The names of Stephen Cassan and Phineas Hall, another Calcutta advocate (June 23, 1782) appear in the Bombay Directory for 1792 in a list of nine "attorneys" of the Mayor's Court. The *Madras Courier* of February 4, 1795 reports the departure from Bombay, for Europe on January 9 of "P. Hall Esq., late editor of the Bombay Courier," in the *Raymond*.

Philip Yonge (1785) who was admitted as an advocate on June 23, 1782, although not a barrister in England or Ireland, "having suffered in health, took his passage to Europe" in the early part of 1789 and carried home with him a set of Thomas Daniell's Twelve Views of Calcutta, which William Hickey sent as a present for his brother (Vol. III, p. 342).

Edward Morris (1787) was not an advocate but was closely connected with the Supreme Court. He held the offices of Examiner and Master in Equity. William Pawson (1788) came out as a writer in 1766 and died on December 18, 1802. He married Maria Pawson on September 26, 1785; and their daughter Julia married Colonel William Kirkpatrick in 1785. They thus became the grandparents of Julia Kirkpatrick who married Edward Strachey of the Bengal Civil Service in 1808 and was the mother of Sir Richard and Sir John Strachey. Another grand-daughter, Barbara Isabella Kirkpatrick, married Charles Buller, another Bengal civilian, in 1805 and died in London on February 13, 1849. Her son, Sir Arthur Buller, was a judge of the Supreme Court from 1848 to 1858.

John Wilton (1784) owed his appointment as Sheriff to the fact that he was the brother-in-law of Sir Robert Chambers, who married the beautiful daughter of Joseph Wilton, R.A., the sculptor. He came out as a writer in 1776. When William Hickey was living at Garden Reach in 1791, Wilton was one of the friends whom he used to take with him for daily visits: he was one of those who "preferred returning home to sleeping abroad" (Vol. IV, p. 27). Hickey tells us also that when he went home for the last time in the *Castle Eden* in 1809, "amongst a variety of personal presents that were sent to me was a large easy-chair intended for my cabin, which John Wilton, Esquire, of Patna had caused to be made and forwarded to me with an elegant letter in Latin." Wilton was like Hastings and Impey and Hickey himself, a Westminster boy, and he attended a Westminster dinner at Calcutta in 1784, at which Hickey took the chair (Vol. III, p. 245). Hastings was not present, as "etiquette did not allow him to accept of any private invitations." There is another interesting allusion to Wilton in Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections* (Oxford edn., p. 341):

Mr. John W——n of the Bengal Civil Service, commonly known by the name of Beau W——n, was the Honourable Company's opium agent at Patna when I arrived at Dinapore to join my regiment in 1810. He had a splendid house and lived in excellent style: and was never so happy as when he had a dozen young men from the Dinapore cantonments living with him. He complained that year, as I am told, that he had not been able to save more than one hundred thousand rupees that season out of his salary and commission upon the opium purchased by the Government from the cultivators.

Wilton seems to have left Patna in 1812, for Duncan Campbell was appointed in December of that year to officiate as agent for Behar opium: and from 1814 to 1817, when his name ceases to appear in the East India Register, he was "out of employ." A paste cameo of Warren Hastings,

by William Tassie, the celebrated modeller, may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It was presented by Miss Marian Winter in 1904 and bears the following inscription opposite the picture: "Portrait from a Bust of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings given to Lady Imhoff by John Wilson, Esqr." (7).

William Orby Hunter (1790) had been a captain of dragoons and came to Calcutta, after dissipating his fortune in London. He was an intimate friend of Hickey: but the passage in his memoirs, in which he describes his career, has been deleted by the editor, and a summary only is given. From this we learn that he took to indigo-planting in Tirhoot: and attached himself to a Hindustani woman who cut off the noses of two of her dependents of whom she was jealous. Both she and Hunter were sent down to the Presidency to take their trial: and Hunter was fined in one case and acquitted in the other. He died in Calcutta in June 1797 (Hickey IV, 163).

Charles Fuller Martyn (1791) was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on November 2, 1786, and on February 10, 1794, was appointed to be one of the four first Justices of the Peace for the town of Calcutta. He was still holding that office in 1808.

Anthony Lambert (1792) was a wealthy and prosperous merchant, who came out on the *Worcester* in 1779. There are several references to him in the fourth volume of Hickey's Memoirs. He was one of Hickey's best clients "and in innumerable instances showed the interest he took in my welfare": and when he returned to Europe in 1798 with "a very handsome fortune," undertook to arrange for Hickey's appointment as a notary public. Among his other activities he was a shipowner. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, July 5, 1787, we read that "on Monday last was launched from the Marine Yard a very fine copper bottomed ship of about 700 tons burthen, named by General Carnac the *Clive*—the largest vessel that ever was built at Calcutta. She is the property of Mr. Anthony Lambert who after the launch gave an elegant dinner to a very numerous company at the Old Court House and a ball in the evening to the ladies."

William Smoult (1793) is one of the few attorneys who have served the office of Sheriff. He was a kinsman of Sir Robert Chambers and came out with him in 1774 and "under his protection." We come across him as reading clerk in the Grand-Francis case (1779) and he ultimately became Sealer to the Supreme Court. His son, William Hunter Smoult, who was also an attorney, acted as deputy to W. H. Macnaghten in 1823 and 1825. He published in 1834 a "Collection of Orders by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal on the Pleas Side of the Court, 1774-1813, with notes from the note-books of Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Justice Hyde."

James Dunkin (1794) was admitted as an advocate on March 1, 1784, and was a cousin of Sir William Dunkin who had been appointed a

(7) The *Calcutta Gazette* of February 19, 1795, records the marriage in London of Miss Charlotte Blunt and "Charles Imhoff, Esqr.," the elder stepson of Hastings.

judge in 1791. He took a judicial post in Ceylon in 1799 and died at Colombo on October 16, 1808 at the age of seventy-eight.

Levi Ball (1795) came out to Bengal in 1784. Hickey who acted as his deputy Sheriff tells us (Vol. IV, p. 115) that he was a brother of Admiral Sir Alexander Ball. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1794 and was also for some time Master in Equity at the Supreme Court.

Ralph Uvedale (1796) was another of those who though not barristers, were admitted as advocates on June 23, 1782 (8). He had been an attorney and acted for Grand in his action against Francis. A variety of legal offices were held by him: Clerk of the Crown in 1777, Prothonotary in 1799, and Sealer in 1800. He died in Calcutta on May 18, 1813, at the age of sixty-six.

Francis Macnaghten (1797) who nominated William Hickey as deputy Sheriff (Vol. IV, p. 152) is the future judge. He was married to a daughter of Sir William Dunkin (to whom he owed his appointment) and came out to practice before the Supreme Court in 1791—the year in which his father-in-law took his seat on the Bench. Various offices came to him besides that of Sheriff—Master and Accountant-General in 1792, Examiner in 1795 and Standing Counsel in 1802. He returned to Europe in 1803 in order to secure a judgeship: but did not obtain his desire until 1809, when he was appointed to Madras. In 1815 he was transferred to Calcutta, succeeding, strangely enough, Sir William Burroughs whom he had tried in vain to disbar when they were in practice together in Calcutta, Burroughs being the Advocate-General (9). He twice acted as Chief Justice and retired in 1825, upon the appointment of Sir Charles Grey. A baronetcy was conferred upon him in 1836 and he died in 1843 (10). He was a firm believer in the capacity of the members of his family for public office. In 1817 he nominated his eldest son Edmund Charles Macnaghten (who succeeded him in the baronetcy and died in 1876) as Sheriff at the age of twenty-seven: and looked after him in other ways, for he was Examiner and Sealer of the Court from 1824 to 1829. His second son, William Hay Macnaghten, who was assassinated at Kabul in December 1841, was chosen by him for the same office in 1823 and 1825: he had come out as a writer in 1814 and was Register of the Court of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at the time (11).

James Vanzandt (1798) is described as an auctioneer in the *East India Kalendar* for 1798, and in the *Bengal Kalendar* for 1800 as a member of the firm of Dring and Co. Major Hodson has discovered his will at the India Office, from which it appears that administration was granted in Calcutta on October 4, 1826. It is recorded, however, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*

(8) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, p. 169.

(9) The details of this incident are given by Hickey: but the passage has been omitted from the *Memoirs*, as published.

(10) There is a portrait of Macnaghten by Chinnery in the High Court.

(11) For an account of Elliot Macnaghten, the fourth son, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 79, 80. He would no doubt have been Sheriff also, if he had not come out in 1825, the year in which his father left Calcutta. He was then eighteen.

for 1823 (II, 574) that he died at his residence, Netherclay House, Bishops Hull, near Taunton (Somerset) on October 26, 1823. He was the son of Jacobus Vanzandt of New York, and sailed for Bengal on the *Northumberland* on June 26, 1781, when he was twenty-six years of age. On November 29, 1799, He resigned his commission as a lieutenant in the Calcutta Native Militia (known in later days as the 18th or Alipore Regiment of Bengal Infantry). There is a reference to house property owned by him at Benares in a letter written on August 1, 1789, from "Futtyghur" by Capt. Jonathan Wood to Ozias Humphry (12). Dring and Co.'s "Auction Business and Commission Warehouse" is mentioned in another letter in the Humphry correspondence (from William Baillie, October 26, 1795).

You will say, what Article is not already to be had there? Almost anything from Brilliant cut Diamonds to Grindstones and from preserved Ortolans to Scotch Oatmeal . . . Dring and Co. within three or four years built a new warehouse called their "longroom." London produces none such, I dare say. It is 210 feet long by 40 wide, proportionally high, with about 11 windows in front, fitted from end to end with Tables piled up with Fine Goods of any denomination, and the walls fitted up with Prints. All these with the Sparking of Lustres from the ceiling etc. give it really an air of Grandeur that no shop in the Universe, I dare say, beside can boast of (13).

Vanzandt seems to have sailed for Europe about the year 1802, for his name is absent from the East India Register for 1803 (14).

Walter Ewer (1799) owed his nomination as Sheriff to his friend Sir Henry Russell, the Judge. He was a writer in the Company's service and from 1800 to 1806 was Commissioner at Bencoolen. He was recalled and became involved in heavy litigation, as the result of which the Company obtained a decree against him for four lakhs of rupees. This sum he was unable to pay and, says Hickey who acted as his deputy sheriff (Vol. IV, p. 349) he was confined in the very jail of which, a few years before, he had been in charge as Sheriff. He died on July 25, 1810, at the age of sixty-three, while still a prisoner: and Sir Henry Russell in a letter to Hickey, who was then in England, records that he attended his friend's funeral. He was buried in North Park Street cemetery. His son, Walter Ewar junior (1787-1863), who was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1803 to 1839, was an accomplished orientalist and was the first European to read the inscriptions on the Kutb Minar at Delhi "through his telescope."

James Brice (1800) was a person of no particular distinction and his appointment as Sheriff was entirely due to the fact that he was the brother-in-law of Sir John Anstruther, the Chief Justice who obtained the nomination for him out of turn (Hickey, Vol. IV, p. 230) and also procured for

(12) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXV, p. 121.

(13) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXV, p. 133.

(14) Another American in Calcutta at the time was Ebenezer Jessup, who was Coroner. Some account of him will be found in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIV at pp. 84 and 129.

him in 1805 the post of Commissioner of the Court of Requests (15). His qualifications for this office are not very obvious. He entered the Bengal Army as a cadet in 1781, but was struck off the list in the following year and became an assistant in the powder factory at Fulta. He died in Calcutta on October 29, 1808, at the age of 43.

Edward Thoroton (1801), who died in Calcutta on June 27, 1808, was chief police magistrate: Henry Stone (1802) was Secretary to the Board of Revenue and a writer of 1795: Edward Benjamin Lewin (1803) was an advocate. Thoroton was nominated by Sir John Royds and by the Judge's desire appointed Hickey as deputy Sheriff. Lewin was also the nominee of Royds and Hickey was again selected as his deputy. He was subsequently Master in Equity and Accountant-General and died at Kew in January 1830.

Richard Fleming (1804) figures in the pages of Hickey (Vol. IV, p. 224) as one of the twenty male passengers on board the *Triton* Indiaman who played a very unheroic part when the ship was captured off the Sandheads by Surcout on January 29, 1796. "Upon the entrance of the Frenchmen into the ship, every soul fled from the upper deck, as fast as their legs would carry them, seeking safety below." Fleming is described by Hickey as "a man upwards of six feet in height, of immense strength, which if exerted might have been equal to destroying half the enemy." He seems to have been sensitive of the subject of his lack of courage for when he found, upon reaching Calcutta, that he had been christened "Triton Fleming," in order to distinguish him from three others of the same name, "he declared his disapprobation publicly, saying if any person thenceforward presumed to call him by it, he should consider it as an intended insult and resent the same accordingly." He was a Commissioner of the Court of Requests from 1802 to 1807 and died at Madras on October 1, 1807, at the age of 53. His daughter Sophia married on August 22, 1803, Richard Chicheley Plowden the second, who came out as a writer in 1798 and died at the Cape of Good Hope on September 21, 1825, leaving six sons and two daughters. Another daughter (Temperance the eldest) married on November 29, 1800 George Udny, who was subsequently (1801-1807) a member of the Supreme Council in Bengal, and continued after his retirement to live in Calcutta where he died on October 24, 1830, in his seventieth year. He is commemorated by a tablet in the Old Mission Church.

Stephen Laprimaudaye (1805) came to Calcutta in 1791 (Hickey, Vol. IV, 30) and in conjunction with James Frushard (16) established the firm of Frushard and Laprimaudaye. He died in Calcutta on August 9, 1835, at the age of seventy-four.

(15) The Court of Requests was constituted for the recovery of small debts, not exceeding Rs. 400 in value, on March 13, 1802. The first Commissioners were Ebenezer, Coleman, a clerk in the Governor-General's office (who died on September 9, 1802), Richard Fleming (Sheriff in 1804) and Anthony Macfield, Sir John Anstruther's clerk. The vacancy created by Coleman's death was not filled until 1805, when Brice was appointed.

(16) Frushard's daughter Ann, who married Robert Udny (a brother of George Udny) was drowned with her husband in January 1794 by the upsetting of their budgerow opposite Calcutta.

Henry Churchill (1806) was the brother-in-law of Richard Comyns Birch of the Bengal Civil Service and John Brereton Birch (1812) police magistrate of Calcutta, who were the sons of Sarah Holwell, the daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell, and William Birch. Churchill was marine paymaster and naval storekeeper at Calcutta and had commanded the *Walpole* Indiaman from 1783 to 1793. One of his daughters was married in London on January 2, 1823, to Major-General Sir Jeremiah Bryant (1783-1845) of the Bengal Army, who was elected a Director of the East India Company in 1841 (17).

James Archibald Simpson (1807 and 1809) and Robert Cutlar Ferguson (1810). Simpson was a personal friend of Sir Henry Russell, the Chief Justice, whose nomination of him in 1807 was, however, due to an accident. Hickey, who remained in office as deputy sheriff, writes (Vol. IV, p. 345): "The Chief Justice had intended to make his eldest son, Mr. Henry Russell, Sheriff that year, but through the interference of Sir George Barlow and some other men in power, the young gentleman was induced to go back to Hyderabad (18). To Hickey the charge was of no importance: *Tros Tyrinsue mihi nullo discrimine agetur*: Russell was the loser. There was, says Hickey, "a fair prospect of an advantageous year, there having just then been several Armenians and other foreign merchants who from embarking in unsuccessful speculations had failed, which necessarily occasioned much litigation and consequently Writs of Execution, with the customary poundage, that is, a commission or allowance of five and a half per cent. upon the first hundred rupees and two and a half per cent. upon every other hundred rupees, directed to be levied, from which source all Sheriffs derive their principal emolument." Simpson subsequently held the office of clerk of the Crown.

Ferguson, who became Standing Counsel in 1816 and Advocate-General in 1818, ended his days in Europe as Judge Advocate-General and Privy Councillor. He was a Director of the East India Company from 1830 to 1834, was M.P. for Kirkcudbright in 1832, and died in Paris in 1838. William Fairlie (1808) whose name survives in Fairlie-place, Josias Dupré Alexander (1811) and John Hutcheson Ferguson (1814) were merchants. Hickey (Vol. IV, p. 390) tells rather an ill-natured story of the way in which, through the instrumentality of Fairlie, who was foreman of the grand jury in 1805, Robert Home's portrait of Sir John Anstruther (which now hangs in the High Court) came to be painted. Fairlie was nominated for Sheriff by Sir William Burroughs, whom Hickey disliked even more than Anstruther. He declares (Vol. IV, p. 367) that Burroughs arranged with Fairlie that the whole of the emoluments of the office should go to the Deputy Sheriff, James Taylor, an attorney who is described as

(17) The last surviving daughter of Sir Jeremiah Bryant died on January 11, 1928.

(18) He had already acted as President in 1805-1806, on the death of Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick at Calcutta: and held the office again from 1811 to 1820. There is a portrait of him at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The Hyderabad Contingent was called Russell's Brigade after him.

"the bosom friend and brother scoundrel" of the judge. Fairlie was, in fact, Sheriff in name only, "Taylor having first agreed amply to indemnify him from all the consequences."

Both Fairlie and Ferguson were members of the firm of Fairlie Gilmore and Co. Josias Dupré Alexander was a member of the Madras Civil Service from 1796 to 1803 when he came to Calcutta and joined the firm of Gardiner Alexander and Co.; he was afterwards M.P. for old Sarnon and a Director of the East India Company from 1820 until his death in August, 1839. He lived to witness the sensational collapse of his firm, which failed in 1832 for three million sterling. Thomas Bracken (1830 and 1840) and Nathaniel Alexander (1831) were members of the firm at the time. Bracken (who had been a cornet in the Bengal Cavalry) was subsequently appointed Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal, and was one of the six original proprietors of the Bank of Hindustan. He retired in 1847 but returned to Calcutta and died there on December 16, 1850.

Patrick Moir (1810) died on February 15, 1810, a few months after he had entered upon his office. He had been Private Secretary to Lord Minto at the Board of Control and came out to India with him as his Private Secretary, when he was appointed to be a Commissioner of the Court of Requests (19). George Saunders (1813) a writer of 1801, was appointed Mint-master at Calcutta on December 8, 1815. Charles D'Oyly (1815) was the famous amateur artist and son of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, Collector of Calcutta, and intimate friend of Warren Hastings, whom he succeeded as seventh baronet in 1818. In him we have the author and illustrator of "The European in India," "Tom Raw Griffin," and "The Antiquities of Dacca." He came out to Bengal as a writer in 1798, and at the time he served the office of Sheriff, was acting as Collector of Government Customs at Calcutta. In 1839 he retired from the service and died at Florence in 1845. It is interesting to note that the illustrations in "The Old Missionary" by Sir William Hunter, are the work of his nephew, Major-General Sir Charles Walters D'Oyly of the Bengal Army, who was the ninth baronet and died in 1900. John Williamson Fulton (1816) was a member of the firm of Mackintosh, Fulton, McClintock and Co.; and so also were James Calder (1822 and 1829), Robert McClintock (1824) Browne Roberts (1828) and George James Gordon (1829). The firm of Mackintosh and Co. collapsed in January 1833: the event is mentioned by Mrs. Fanny Parks (20).

Patrick Maitland (1819) and William Prinsep (1826), a brother of Henry Thoby Prinsep the elder, and James Prinsep the name-father of Prinsep's Ghat, were partners in the firm of Palmer and Co. This was an

(19) On September 25, 1813, Lord Minto instituted a new Court of Requests, with jurisdiction over suits to the value of Rs. 250, and limits to the period of imprisonment for debtors, who had previously been confined for ten and even twelve years and had died in jail. In 1812 a hundred debtors were liberated in Calcutta under the operation of the Insolvent Act passed in that year, "one of whom had been in that hot gaol for eighteen years."

(20) Quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXV, p. 184.

old-established house. The firm was originally known as Burgh and Barber but on the death of John Burgh in Calcutta in January 1793, John Palmer who had entered the firm in 1783, joined Charles Barber in partnership in the following April, and the name was changed to Barber and Palmer. Ozias Humphry was evidently a customer, for a copy of the formal announcement of the change of title is preserved in one of the volumes of his correspondence in the Library of the Royal Academy. On the death of Barber, Palmer became under his will the owner of the large house in Lal Bazar which stood on the site of the present Police Office. He took over the business of the equally well-known firm of Cockerell Trail and Co. (21), and the house of Palmer and Co. rose to the foremost rank in Calcutta. A profound sensation was therefore created when it suspended payment in January 1830. Fanny Parks wrote; "The failure caused the greatest consternation in India and fell most severely on the widows and orphans of military men who having left their little portions in Palmer's house, had returned to England." William Prinsep after the crash joined Dwarka Nath Tagore in the firm of Carr Tagore and Co.

George Templer (1818), who was a Westminster boy, is described in the *Calcutta Directory* for the year of his Shrievalty as a "senior merchant" on the Bengal establishment "out of employ"; but he was appointed Commercial Resident at Jangipur on April 17 of that year and continued to hold the office until his death at Calcutta on July 20, 1819. He had returned to Europe in 1785, and in 1793 became a partner in the London Middlesex Bank in Stratford Place, with Gerard Noel Edwards, M.P., Samuel Smith, M.P., Nathaniel Middleton (the "Memory" Middleton of the Hastings trial, who had been Resident at Lucknow), Richard Johnson, and John Wedgwood (22), sitting also in the House of Commons as member for Honiton. The firm acted as bankers for Warren Hastings and his wife: and in 1816 he wrote to Hastings and informed him that in consequence of the difficulties in which he had been placed by the conduct of one of his partners, Richard Johnson (23), he was obliged to wind up his

(21) In 1785 this firm was known as Paxton Cockerell and Delisle. Paxton became Sir William and was M.P. for Caermarthenshire in 1806: Philip Delisle came out with Warren Hastings and the Imhoffs on the *Duke of Grafton* in 1769, and died in Calcutta on July 15, 1788. His daughter Mary, who died in 1843, married in 1800 the Hon. John Ramsay, of the King's Army and fourth son of the eighth Earl of Dalhousie and Elizabeth Glen of Calcutta (as to whom see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 214). Charles Cockerell and his brother Samuel Pepys Cockerell, architect and surveyor to the India House, were the sons of a daughter of John Jackson, the nephew and heir of Samuel Pepys. He came out to Bengal as a writer in 1776 and retired as Postmaster-General in 1800. He sat in the House of Commons for nearly thirty years and was created a baronet in 1809. His son, the second baronet, took the name of Rushout.

(22) *Madras Courier*, May 2, 1793.

(23) Johnson was a nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and a brother of William Johnson, a well-known Calcutta attorney and clerk of the Crown. He was Resident at Lucknow in 1782, and, in the words of Hastings himself, "abused his trust or was charged with it, and was recalled." He was a large owner of house property in Calcutta and at one time in business with Charles Croftes; the partnership was dissolved on October 1, 1785. In 1789 he returned

affairs and to go back to India at the age of sixty-one. Herbert Abingdon Draper Compton (1820) began life as a private soldier in the Company's army and after serving his articles as an attorney at Madras, was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. He was enrolled as an advocate at Calcutta in 1815 and was appointed Advocate-General at Madras in 1822. In 1828 he returned to Calcutta and was re-admitted as an advocate; but went to Europe at the end of 1830. In April of that year he went to Bombay as Chief Justice in succession to Sir James Dewar who had died within a year of his appointment. He held the office until 1839, when he retired, and died in 1846 at the age of seventy-six. As Chief Justice, he refused to allow the portrait of Sir John Peter Grant, a former puisne judge who had fallen out with Sir John Malcolm, to be placed in the Supreme Court building (24). George Warde (1821) was a civil servant and secretary to the Board of Revenue.

Trevor John Chichele Plowden (1827), whose monument may be seen in St. John's Church, was another civil servant, and the last of them to hold the office of Sheriff: he was the great grandfather of Lady Lytton. He died on board the *Hibernia* on July 7, 1836; and his widow, Frances Lina Erskine married on Christmas Day 1837, Henry Meredith Parker (1795-1863), the versatile civil servant whose book of poems which goes by the whimsical name of "*Bole Ponjis*," keeps his memory green. Mrs. Parker owned the house which stood on the site of the present Bengal Club and died in Calcutta on March 25, 1848.

William Melville (1832) was a partner in the firm of Fairlie, Ferguson and Co. George Money (1833), Advocate and Master of the Supreme Court, was the father of Sir Alonzo Money, a well-known civilian of Mutiny days, who made a second reputation in Egypt. J. M. Higginson (1834) was a merchant and agent, who carried on business at 3, New China Bazar Street.

It is odd to find the name of William Hickey as Sheriff in 1835. There was an attorney of that name on the roll of the Supreme Court at the time who was not, of course, the author of the *Memoirs*; but the Sheriff was a business man. He had been an officer in the Bengal Army and adjutant of the Calcutta Native Militia; but resigned his commission in 1829 and joined the firm of Moore Hickey and Co. and subsequently that of Tulloh and Co. He died of cholera in Calcutta on November 5, 1841. His wife was a sister of General Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert, who received the submission of the Sikh army at Rawalpindi after the battle of Gujrat on February 21, 1849. A sketch of Hickey by Colesworthy Grant was published in the *Bengal Sporting Magazine* in 1838. William Hunter Smoult (1842)

to Europe and found his way into the House of Commons. The *Bombay Courier* of August 23, 1794, records that "Col. Mark Wood, late of Bengal, has been elected member of Parliament for Milborne Port in the room of R. Johnson, Esqre., who has accepted the Children Hundreds." He died at Brighthelmstone (Brighton) on August 19, 1807. The Johnson collection of Oriental paintings, which is now at the India Office, was made by him.

(24) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 73.

was another member of the firm of Tulloh and Co., and must not be confused with the attorney of that name who acted as Deputy Sheriff in 1823 and 1825. Tulloh and Co. were auctioneers. William Tulloh the founder of the firm, was a fellow-prisoner of John Hare and Mrs. Fay in their captivity at Calicut (25), and sold Mrs. Fay's effects after his death; he lives in Calcutta history as the supposed original of Judas Iscariot in Zoffany's picture of the last Supper which hangs in St. John's Church.

Richard Howe Cockerell (1836) and John Beckwith (1845) were partners in Cockerell and Co. of Clive Street, a firm which came into existence after the failure of Palmer and Co. Thomas Holroyd (1837) was a member of Ferguson Brothers and Co. and assignee for the creditors of Mackintosh and Co. The identity of James Young (1838 and 1839) has been difficult to determine. He seems to have been a merchant and one of the directors of the Bank of Hindustan. But there was a barrister of that name (not an advocate of the Supreme Court) who acted for a short time as a member of the Indian Law Commission. There was also a James Young, who was clerk of the Peace in 1838. William C. Braddon (1843) was a partner in the firm of Bagshaw and Co.; Adam Frear Smith (1843 and 1847) was a share and bill broker; James S. Stopford (1844) was connected with Turner Stopford and Co.; James Pelham McKilligin (1846) was a partner in the firm of Colville Gilmore and Co. of 4, Fairlie Place and later in that of Gilmore, McKilligin and Co., to which William Fairlie Gilmore (1859) also belonged.

The Sheriffs were now beginning to be drawn exclusively from the mercantile community. But Charles Swinton Hogg (1848) and John Cochrane (1861) were advocates. Hogg was the second son of James Weir Hogg (Chairman of the East India Company in 1846 and 1852). He was admitted to the Supreme Court Bar on December 5, 1861, and was appointed Administrator-General in 1855 (a post his father had held before him) and retained the office until his death in Calcutta on March 16, 1870. The late Lord Chancellor, Viscount Hailsham (Sir Douglas Hogg) is his nephew. Cochrane was admitted as an advocate as far back as July 12, 1827 and was Official Assignee at the time of his nomination as Sheriff. He had commenced his career in India by practising in Madras and came to Calcutta on his appointment as Standing Counsel.

Robert Stopford (1849) was the agent for the Ganges Steam Navigation Company. James J. Mackenzie (1850) and Robert Stuart Palmer (1855) belonged to the firm of McKillop Stewart and Co. Robert Muirhead Reddie (1851) was a member of the firm of Smith Farie and Co. and resided at 32, Cossitollah (now Bentinck Street). John Deffell (1852) and John Hutchison Fergusson (1856 and 1858) were partners in Allan Deffell and Co. of 77, Clive Street. Frederick Bellairs (1853) was a partner in Peel and Bellairs of 67, Clive Street. Thomas Caird (1854) was the Government Agent for Emigration. Henry Edward Braddon (1857), Sheriff in

(25) See *ante*: in the account of John Hare.

the Mutiny year, was a member of Braddon and Co., and Henry Dundas (1858) of Shand Fairlie and Co. George Brown (1860), Claud Hamilton Brown (1860), Charles Frederick Burgett (1868) and James Richard Bullen Smith (1876) were all connected with the famous house of Jardine Skinner and Co. David Cowie (1862) and John Cowie (1872) represent the once-powerful firm of Colvin Cowie and Co. which was founded by Alexander Colvin in the time of Warren Hastings, and which collapsed so dramatically in the Seventies of last century. Their place of business was at 4, Hastings Street where Alexander Colvin lived and where his nephew John Russell Colvin, who died in the Fort at Agra during the Mutiny, was born in 1807. David Cowie was subsequently Secretary to the Calcutta Corporation for many years.

Henry Crooke (1867) and James Rome (1869) were members of the firm of Crooke Rome and Co. of 7, Clive Row. John Phillips Thomas (1864) and Thomas Maltby Robinson (1873) were partners in the famous firm of J. Thomas and Co., of 8, Mission Row. Steuart Gladstone (1863) was the first Sheriff from the house of Gillanders Arbuthnot and Co. William Joseph Curtoys (1878) represents the Calcutta branch of the agency firm of Grindlay and Co., which was founded in 1828 in Birchin Lane in the City of London by Capt. Robert Melville Grindlay of the Bombay Army under the style of Leslie and Grindlay (26).

Most of the firms we have been naming have ceased to exist or have altered their designations. But within the last sixty years identification becomes almost unnecessary and biographical notices are hardly required. One or two matters of a general character will suffice to close the chronicle.

The substitution of the High Court for the Supreme Court in 1862 was followed, four years later, by a significant innovation. It was in the year 1866 that the first non-European Sheriff, Seth Arratoon Apcar, was appointed. A second Armenian, Philippus Astwachatoor Cavorke, who was the Secretary to the Amicable Insurance Office, was nominated for 1870; and Sir Apcar Alexander Apcar, K.C.S.I., served the office in 1906. Manackjee Rustomjee (1874) was the first Parsee, and the honour has also fallen to his son the late Mr. Heerjeebhoy Manackjee Rustomjee (1902) and Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E. (1893) who is still an active citizen of Calcutta. The first Hindu Sheriff was Rajah Degumber Mitter, C.S.I. (1875) whose grand-son, Rai Manmatha Nath Mitter Bahadur was Sheriff in 1927; and there have been ten others: Maharajah Doorga Charan Law (1882), Baboo Joygobind Law, C.I.E. (1895), Rajah Kristo Dass Law (1907) and Rajah Reshee Case Law (1915), all of the firm of Prawnkissen Law and Co.; Dr. Mahendra Lall Sircar, C.I.E. (1888), Rai Sitanath Roy Bahadur (1898), Mr. Nalin Bihari Sircar, C.I.E. (1904) of the firm of Kerr Tarruck and Co.,

(26) Capt. Grindlay (who died at Nice in 1877 at the age of ninety-one) was an accomplished artist; and published a series of Views of Scenery, Costumes and Architecture in Western India in 1826, of which a number may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The book was again published in an enlarged form in 1830.

Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore (1908 and 1909). Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. (1911), head of the firm of Martin and Company, and Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O. (1921). Three have been members of the Marwari Community: Raja Shewbux Bogla (1897). Rai Bahadur Sir Hariram Goenka, C.I.E. (1917) and Rai Bahadur Sir Onkar Mal Jatia (1925). Of Jews there have also been three—Mr. E. D. J. Ezra (1879) and his sons Mr. J. E. D. Ezra (1889) and Sir David Ezra (1926): the last-named has marked his term of office by a munificent donation towards the establishment of a Sheriff's Charitable Fund. Muhammadans have numbered eight; Nawab Syed Asghar Ali Khan, C.S.I. (1883) of the Chitpore family (27), Shahzada Muhammad Farrokh Shah (1891) and his son Sahibzada Gholam Muhammad (1913) of the Mysore family, Sahibzada Muhammad Bakhtiyar Shah, C.I.E. (1900) and Sahibzada Muhammad Ali Nakey (1923) of the same family (28), and Prince Akram Hussain (1919) and Unsud-daula Syed Ahmad Hosain (1929), of the Oudh family.

In later years the merchant-princes of Calcutta have been well represented. We may instance: Mr. Robert Steel, C.S.I. (1880), Mr. George Yule (1886) who distributed the whole of his fees among charitable institutions, Sir Alexander Wilson (1887) Sheriff in the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, the Earl of Inchcape (1892) better known to an earlier generation as Mr. James Mackay, and Sir William Currie (1922), heads of the great shipping house of Mackinnon, Mackenzie and Co. Sir Alan Arthur (1898), Mr. W. B. Gladstone (1899) and Mr. C. Lawrie Johnstone (1899), Sir George Sutherland (1901 and 1908), Lord Cable (1918) Sir Frank Carter (1918), Sir Willoughby Carey (1924) and Sir Basil Eddis (1928), Sheriff in the tercentenary year of the office, who like Mr. Gladstone represents the firm of Gillanders Arbuthnot and Co.

The year of office of Sir Patrick Playfair (1896) is associated with a tragic incident, which enables us to understand why the Sheriff's office may be searched in vain for records of the period between 1775 and 1800. In

(27) In the days of Warren Hastings and even as late as the time of Bishop Heber (1823-25) the "Chitpore Nawab" denoted the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad who staged on the occasion of his visits to Calcutta in the house of Chitpore which was occupied by Mir Jafir when he visited Clive at the end of 1758. But the family known at a later period as the "Chitpore Nawabs" was descended from Muhammad Reza Khan who was made deputy *Napim* when the Company assumed the *diwani* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He was charged in 1772 by Warren Hastings with misappropriation of revenue but was acquitted after trial at Calcutta. He then joined the "Majority" party on the Council and obtained through Clavering the posts of deputy to Nawab Nazim Mubarak-ud-daula and faujdar of Murshidabad but was dismissed at Clavering's death. In 1780 he was reinstated as "general faujdar" and died at Murshidabad in August 1792.

(28) Sahibzada Muhammad Ali Nakey is descended on his mother's side from the Oudh family, his mother having been a great niece of Nawab Wazir Sadat Ali (1798-1814) who was placed on the *gadi* by Sir John Shore, and who lived for many years before his accession at Calcutta "in a garden house, exactly opposite to Colonel Watson's Docks at Kidderpore" (Lickey, Vol. IV. p. 178).

his book on "The Sheriffs of Fort William" (of which a copy is unaccountably missing from the India Office Library), Mr. Charles Moore tells the story which he describes as "the greatest misfortune which ever befell the historical records of Calcutta." It had been the custom to preserve all the documents which found their way into the Sheriff's office: and among these would be bills of lading, leases, and private letters seized under the directions of the Supreme Court. Sir Patrick Playfair (says Mr. Moore) discovered in the course of a tour of inspection, a large back room in which these records were stored. He appeared to have regarded them as so much useless lumber, for he ordered the destruction of all papers previous to the year 1800. An Eurasian clerk was engaged at fifty rupees a month to "pick out the rarest jewels," and after a couple of months had been spent in unintelligent examination, a bonfire was made of a ton or more of documents on the Maidan near the High Court building. Mr. Moore, with a bitterness which it is difficult to condemn, exclaims that this Sheriff (who was in other respects a highly popular citizen of Calcutta with a fine record of public service) "deserves a place in the roll of fame beside Jhengis Khan who thought that the easy way to improve a city would be to burn it down." Unhappily, he does not stand alone. The Military Department of the Government of India was guilty of a similar holocaust at Simla some years ago. No one will suggest an indiscriminate preservation of records: but they are at least entitled to the same trial as a criminal, and the hangman should not be confounded with the judge.

LIST OF SHERIFFS OF CALCUTTA

Thomas Braddyll (1727), First Sheriff.

James Valicourt (1752). Thomas Coals (1753).

Appointed under the Charter of 1753.

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| John Cooke (1754). | John Graham (1763 and 1764). |
| Thomas Coales (1755). | William Majendie (1765 and 1766). |
| William Lindsay (1756). | John Graham (1767). |
| Stanlake Batson (1757). | Simeon Droz (1768). |
| William Rider (1758). | Edward Baber (1769). |
| Thomas Culling Smith (1759- and 1760). | Lionel Darell (1770 and 1771). |
| Oliver Cromwell Webb (1761). | George Bright (1772 and 1773). |
| Henry Goodwin (1762). | Charles Lloyd (1774). |

Appointed under the Charter of 1774.

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| Alexander Macrabie (1775). | Edmund Morris (1787). |
| Samuel Montaigut (1776). | William Pawson (1788). |
| Blastus Godly Wright (appointed on December 7, 1776, for the year 1777, but he departed for Europe in the same month). | John Wilton (1789). |
| William Wodsworth (1777). | William Orby Hunter (1790). |
| John Bristow (appointed on December 5, 1777, for the year 1778, but he departed the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in the same month). | Charles Fuller Martyn (1791). |
| John Richardson (1778). | Anthony Lambert (1792). |
| Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, Bart. (1779). | William Smoult (1793). |
| Alexander Van Rixtel (1780). | James Dunkin (1794). |
| Herbert Harris (1781). | Levi Ball (1795). |
| John Hare (1782). | Ralph Uvedale (1796). |
| Jeremiah Church (1783). | Francis Macnaghten (1797). |
| Robert Morse (1784). | James Vanzandt (1798). |
| Stephen Bagshaw (acting Sheriff, 1784). | Walter Ewer (1799). |
| Philip Yonge (1785). | James Brice (1800). |
| Stephen Cassan (1786). | Edward Thoroton (1801). |
| | Henry Stone (1802). |
| | Edward Benjamin Lewin (1803). |
| | Richard Fleming (1804). |
| | Stephen Laprimaudaye (1805). |
| | Henry Churchill (1806). |
| | James Archibald Simpson (1807). |
| | William Fairlie (1808). |
| | James Archibald Simpson (1809). |
| | Patrick Moir (1810). |

Appointed under the Charter of 1774.

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| Robert Cutlar Ferguson (1810). | William Hickey (1835). |
| Josias Dupré Alexander (1811). | Richard Howe Cockerell (1836). |
| John Brereton Birch (1812). | Thomas Holroyd (1837). |
| George Saunders (1813). | James Young (1838 and 1839). |
| John Hutcheson Fergusson (1814). | Thomas Bracken (1840). |
| Charles D'Oyly (1815). | William C. Braddon (1841). |
| John Williamson Fulton (1816). | William Hunter Smoult (1842). |
| Edmund Charles Macnaghten (1817). | Adam Frear Smith (1843). |
| George Templar (1818). | James S. Stopford (1844). |
| Patrick Maitland (1819). | John Beckwith (1845). |
| Herbert Abingdon Draper Compton (1820). | James Pelham McKilligin (1846). |
| George Warde (1821). | Adam Frear Smith (1843). |
| James Calder (1822). | Charles Swinton Hogg (1848). |
| William Hay Macnaghten (1823). | Robert Stopford (1849). |
| Robert McClintock (1824). | James J. Mackenzie (1850). |
| William Hay Macnaghten (1825). | Robert Muirhead Reddie (1851). |
| William Prinsep (1826). | John Deffell (1852). |
| Trevor John Chichele Plowden (1827). | Frederick Bellairs (1853). |
| Browne Roberts (1828). | Thomas Caird (1854). |
| George James Gordon (1828). | Richard Stuart Palmer (1855). |
| James Calder (1829). | John Huchison Fergusson (1856). |
| Thomas Bracken (1830). | Henry Edward Braddon (1857). |
| Nathaniel Alexander (1831). | John Huchison Fergusson (1858). |
| Wililam Melville (1832). | Henry Dundas (1858). |
| George Money (1833). | William Fairlie Gilmore (1859). |
| J. M. Higginson (1834). | George Browne (1860). |
| | Claude Hamilton Brown (1860). |
| | John Cochrane (1861). |
| | David Cowie (1862). |

Appointed under the Act of 1862.

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| Steuart Gladstone (1863). | John Cowie (1872). |
| John Phillips Thomas (1864). | Thomas Maltby Robinson (1873). |
| Henry Dundas (1865). | Manackjee Rustomjee (1874). |
| Seth Arratoon Apcar (1866). | Degumber Mitter, C.S.I. (1875). |
| Henry Crooke (1867). | James Richard Bullen Smith (1876). |
| Charles Frederick Burgett (1868). | John Francis Ogilvy (1877). |
| James Rome (1869). | William Joseph Curtoys (1878). |
| Phillipus Astwachatoor Cavorke (1870). | Edmond Charles Morgan (1878 and 1879). |
| James Richard Bullen Smith (1871). | Elias David Joseph Ezra (1879). |

Appointed under the Act of 1862.

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| Robert Steel (1880). | Maharaj Kumar Kristo Dass Law (1907). |
| George Francis Newburn (1881). | Sir George Henry Sutherland (1908). |
| Walter Ewing Crum (1881). | Maharaja Sir Prodyot Koomar Tagore (1908 and 1909). |
| Doorga Churn Law (1882). | Walter Kingsbury Dowding (1910). |
| Robert Millar (1883). | Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, C.I.E. (1911). |
| Nawab Syed Asghar Ali Khan Bahadur, C.S.I. (1883). | Robert Holmes Arbuthnot Gresson (1912). |
| Henry William Irvine Wood (1884). | Sahibzada Gholam Mahomed Shah (1913). |
| George Elphinstone Keith (1885). | Francis Hugh Stewart, C.I.E. (1914). |
| George Yule (1886). | Rajah Rishee Case Law, C.I.E. (1915). |
| Sir Alexander Wilson (1887). | Edward Hugh Bray (1916). |
| Mahendra Lall Sircar, M.D., C.S.I. (1888). | Rai Hariram Goenka Bahadur, C.I.E. (1917). |
| Joseph Elias David Joseph Ezra (1889). | Frank Willingdon Carter, C.I.E., C.B.E. (1918). |
| Henry Blois Hawkins Turner (1890). | Afsur-ul-Mulk Prince Mirza Muhammad. Akram Hussain Bahadur (1919). |
| Shahzada Mahomed Furrokh Shah (1891). | Alfred Donald Pickford (1920). |
| James Lyle Mackay, C.I.E. (1892). | Chunilal Bose, M.B., I.S.O. (1921). |
| William Currie (1892). | William Crawford Currie (1922). |
| Rustomjee Dhunjeebhoy Mehta (1893). | Sahibzada Mirza Muhammad Ali Nakey (1923). |
| Edward Trelawny (1894). | Sir Willoughby Langer Carey (1924). |
| Joy Gobind Law (1895). | Sir Onkar Mal Jatia, Rai Bahadur (1925). |
| Patrick Playfair, C.I.E. (1896). | Sir David Ezra (1926). |
| Shewbux Bogla (1897). | Rai Manmatha Nath Mitra Bahadur (1927). |
| Alan Arthur (1898). | Sir Basil Eden Garth Eddis (1928). |
| Sitanath Roy (1898). | Unsud-daula Syed Ahmed Hosain (1929). |
| William Buckley Gladstone (1899). | Thomas Dugald Edelston (1930). |
| Charles Lawrie Johnstone (1899). | |
| Sahibzada Mahomed Bakhtiyar Shah, C.I.E. (1900). | |
| George Henry Sutherland (1901). | |
| Heerjeebhoy Manackjee Rustomjee (1902). | |
| William Albert Bankier (1903). | |
| Nalin Bihari Sircar, C.I.E. (1904). | |
| Ernest Cable (1905). | |
| Apcar Alexander Apcar (1906). | |

A Nabob and his Friends: Major John Grant, M.P.

AMONGST the Orme MSS. at the India Office there is a small volume (1) —in reality little more than a note-book—known as Mr. Grant's Journal, containing a general description of affairs in Bengal (1761-1764), including (p. 1) the wreck of the *Fatch-Islam*; (p. 5) the first expedition to Manipur under Lieut. Swinton; Major Adams' campaign; (p. 7) the native method of catching elephants; (p. 23) a letter dated 27th July, 1763 from Captain George Wilson regarding the trouble at Patna; and (p. 41) an account of the massacre (2) at the same place.

This Staff-journal is stated by Orme "to have been kept by Captain now Major Grant, who gave it to me"—but beyond this bald statement, little else would appear to be known about the author now-a-days.

Recent search amongst family papers and correspondence having established the identity of Mr. Grant with tolerable, if not absolute, certainty, it is proposed to give here such particulars as are now known about his origin and career, which will perhaps prove of interest to Members of the Calcutta Historical Society and others—for although his name occurs only once in Dr. Holzman's careful work (3) the memory of this typical Nabob, who became successively, a King's Officer, a Company's Officer, a county magnate, a J. P. and a M. P., appears to me to deserve rescuing from that obscurity which enshrouds so many of his Anglo-Indian contemporaries, many of whom played a conspicuous part in the public and social life of this country.

As to the authorship of the Journal, Mr. S. C. Hill, in his Catalogue of European MSS. at the India Office Library, Orme Collection (4), ascribes the Journal to Capt. Alexander Grant (5). This is undoubtedly a mistake, for Capt. Alexander Grant, having resigned his Commission in 1758, left India for England (together with his wife Margaret) on the *Ilchester*, which touched at St. Helena on the 18th June 1759, and there is no evidence

(1) Orme Collection, India Office Library, Vol. IV. 1, pp. 1-57 (32.5×20.8 cm.).

(2) October 5th, 1763.

(3) *The Nabobs in England: a study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785*: by James M. Holzman, Ph.D. (New York, 1926). Reviewed in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 63-66.

(4) *Catalogue of MSS. in European Languages belonging to the Library, India Office*: Vol. II, Part I. Orme Collection. Pub. by the order of the Secretary for India in Council. Oxford University Press, 1916.

(5) *Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834*, by Major V. C. P. Hodson: Constable & Co., London, 1928.

that he returned to India before 1765, when he and his wife embarked for India on the *Hardwicke* and he resumed life in Calcutta as a Free Merchant and Army Contractor (6). Nor is there any sure evidence that he ever attained to the rank of Major, which the following extract from Wyllie's *Eyre Coote* (7) proves John Grant undoubtedly did (p.126):—

"Sanction was given (1769) for Mr. John Grant to accompany Gen. Coote, 'to remain there while the General does,' and to have the rank of Major in the East Indies with the allowances annexed to that station, 'but that he be not appointed to any Corps in the Company's troops, as it is not designed to supercede any officer of that rank by this appointment: his wife (8) Mrs. Ann Grant permitted to accompany him.' "

The following extract from a letter addressed to Mrs. George Elliot, Laugharne, Pembrokeshire, dated London October 12, 1769, may be appropriately inserted here, as it definitely identifies the writer with the abovenamed Mr. John Grant:

"I must now tell you my Dear Sister that there is a prospect of my going once more to India—it is rather against my inclination, but Coote asks and I cannot refuse—he is to have the command in all India with a Major General's Commission—pecuniary motives or prospects I have none—but I shall have an opportunity of giving Harry (9) a lift in the Service. Nely (10) will be particularly benefited by it and I shall probably have an opportunity of establishing Nanny (11) to my satisfaction—these are motives not to be withstood. . . . Let your letter be enclosed in a cover directed to Col. Eyre Coote, Queen Ann St., Cavendish Square, London. . .

Your Most Affectly.,

(Sd.) J. GRANT."

The letter from which the above extract is taken, together with three other letters of John Grant to the same sister were, at my request, submitted by the present owner (Hugh Elliot, Esq., 6 Crown Office Row, Temple, E. C. 4, great, great, great nephew of John Grant) to the Librarian, India Office, who wrote to me on 25th January, 1929 as follows. "The references personal and public in these letters, as well as the signature and

(6) Information communicated by Mr. W. T. Ottiwell, Superintendent of Records, India Office. Alexander Grant died at Calcutta and was buried on 31st October 1768. He was Adjutant General at the siege of Calcutta in 1756 and was one of those who escaped to the ships at Fulta. His account of the loss of Calcutta was printed in Vol. XXXIV of *Bengal: Past and Present* (pp. 20-37).

(7) *A Life of Lieut.-General Sir Eyre Coote, K.B.*, compiled by Col. H. C. Wyllie, C.B. Oxford University Press, 1922.

(8) This appears to be a mistake, the lady was almost certainly his sister, Miss Ann Grant.

(9) His brother Henry, Lieutenant of Infantry, Bengal Army; subsequently a free merchant in Calcutta. Hodson: *op. cit.* ii, 310.

(10) His brother Cornelius Grant, then an Ensign in the Madras Army.

(11) His sister Miss Ann Grant.

handwriting, place it beyond doubt that the John Grant who wrote them is identical with the writer of the two letters to Orme in our possession."

The following is a transcript of the two letters referred to by the Librarian, India Office (12).

" Calcutta, Sept. 12, 1770.

" Dear Sir,

As I imagine a line from this part of the world will be agreeable to you, I shall make no apology for trespassing on your time. I arrived at Madras on the last of June (13) and soon got permission from the Genl. to come down here to attend my sister (14); there being no particular service on the Coast. I expected after the formation of the Troops that the General would soon follow—But I find by a Letter from him dated the 28th ultimo that that Department is not allowed him—the Governor and Council there having Resolved that Mr. Dupre's (15) Commission as Commander-in-Chief is Superior to General Coote's Commission of Commander in Chief with respect to the Troops of the Presidency—they therefore make General Coote only Deputy Comr. in Chief, and subject him to a superior Military Officer.—He talks of going home, only first to wait for the Sentiments of the Council of B. Bay—but as he will meet with a proper reception here—I expect he will come to this place and here wait the decision of the Court of Directors on this important point (16)—whether they will confirm their own orders, which are already very clear and explicit or not. This affair, I suppose will make some noise in Leaden Hall Street and will induce the Directors to draw a line between the Governors and Comr. in Chief in future, that the publick service be not obstructed.—The Council of Madras have likewise another dispute with Sir John Lindsay (17), the particulars of which I have not heard. The Maharattas and Hyder Ally are engaged in a War, the former have taken many of his Fortresses and razed them; they have a body of Troops in his Country, and they intend reinforcing it after the Rains, to attack him with Vigor; they have likewise collected a large fleet to attack Mangalore and to reduce the Badamore Country—They both demand our assistance which the Council

(12) Orme collection, Vol. 43 (1) 5, pp. 153-156 and pp. 156-160.

(13) Coote left England on the 11th Jan. 1770, and arrived at Madras 30th June 1770, on board the Company's ship *Bridgewater*. (Wylly, *op. cit.*)

(14) Miss Ann Grant.

(15) Josias Du Pré, appointed Governor of Fort St. George, 31st January 1770.

(16) Coote did not wait for the decision of the Court of Directors. He left Madras Oct. 1770 and went home via Calcutta and Bussorah—Overland route. (Wylly, *op. cit.*) Coote evidently expected an early return to India, as John Grant, in a letter to his sister Mrs. Elliot, dated Calcutta, Feb. 4, 1771, says: " He has desired my stay to see him again in India next August. I have complied."

(17) Admiral Sir John Lindsay, K.B. He was recalled at the request of the Council of Madras and was succeeded in September 1771 by Sir Robert Harland. (Wylly, *op. cit.*).

put off till the arrival of the Supervisors (18)—but the Aurora being so long missing leaves little hope of the Supervisors appearing—What line the Council will take is uncertain—it is not our interest to involve ourselves on the eve of a French War—but if we take either Part—Hyder is the properest Ally to curb the ambitious and growing power of the Mahrattas. The French at Pondicherry (19) are strengthening that Fortress as expeditiously as they possibly can; but they have adopted the old Plan, enlarging the Bastions only; it will not be very formidable—At Chandernagore the Fortifications as well as [the] Town remain yet in Ruins—they attempted nothing but a Drain (as they call'd [it]) which surrounds their Bounds, but it is now fill'd up.

In this Country the famine (20) has made dreadful havock, it has confined itself to the Company's Territories, whilst the Countries surrounding us have enjoyed the greatest plenty. This will probably affect the Revenues considerably tho' some assert it will not—should that be the case it will prove there has been a defect in the Collections.

By the Death of Bulwansing (21) a considerable acquisition of territory falls into the hands of Sujah Dowlah (22) which the Treaty might have prevented had it been secured to his son as well as himself—it would be his Interest to be our Staunch friend—a spirited letter might even now prevent it—but by the loss of the Supervisors, whose packets are not yet open'd, the Board knows not how to act.

Bulwansing's Country was an excellent Barrier to our Frontier and kept our communications open with Eliaba'd—Sujah Dowlah will probably hereafter make us repent of this oversight.

I beg you will present my respects to Genl. Smith and also to Mrs. Smith and our good friend Browne and his Rib and believe me with great esteem.

Dr. Sir,

Your most faithfull and Obedt. H. Servant,

(Sd.) J. GRANT.

Robt. Orme, Esq."

" Calcutta Oct. 15th 1770.

" Dear Sir,

Since I had the pleasure to write to you on the 12th ultimo I have not heard from Genl. Coote. As the Board here have approved of the

(18) Messrs. Vansittart and Scrafton and Col. Forde. They were appointed by the Court of Directors to superintend all the Presidencies and Settlements in India. They embarked on the frigate *Aurora* towards the end of Sept. 1769. The vessel foundered, with all hands, in the Indian Ocean and no trace of her was ever met with. (Wylly, *op. cit.*).

(19) Chandernagore, captured by Clive, Nov. 25, 1759 and Pondicherry, captured by Coote Jan. 16, 1761, were restored to the French after the Peace of Paris, Feb. 1763. (Wylly, *op. cit.*).

(20) Famine in Bengal, 1770—due to lack of rain and shortage of rice. One of the vague charges against Clive was "that he had caused the famine in Bengal by establishing a monopoly of salt, betel nut, tobacco and other commodities." (Macfarlane's *Indian Empire*, p. 104).

(21) Balwant Singh, Zemindar of Benares. He was succeeded by his son Chait Singh,

(22) Shuja-ud-Daula. Nawab Wazir of Oudh.

proceedings of the Gentlemen of Madras, it is probable he will determine on going to England, in which case I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you again.

Looking over the Returns from Madras before I left England; I found that my Brother Cornelius (your little friend) was very near the head of the Ensigns; and therefore thought it unnecessary to apply for Lieutenancy for him amongst the new appointments, as I concluded, from the course of the Service, he would have been promoted to a Lieutenancy before my arrival, and therefore would have been above the Lieuts. sent out in 1770 (23). On my landing at Madras I found that no promotions had been made since the peace wt. Hyder Ally; by which means my Brother continuing an Ensign, has not only been superceded by the 23 Captains, but by fifty Lieutenants, also sent out this year.

This is a most affecting circumstance to a young Officer; and on you by Dr. Sir is my principal dependence for redress (24) to endeavour to get him to take Rank of the fifty Lieutenants sent out this year or to procure him an appointment in the Civil Service.

Wishing you health and every kind of happiness from, with great truth (25).

Dear Sir

Yr. Most obliged and affectt.,

H. Servant,

(Sd.) JOHN GRANT.

Robert Orme Esq."

The supercession of Gen. Coote and his departure for England was a severe blow to the hopes with which John Grant set out for India in 1769, but

"The best laid schemes of mice an' men
Gang aft a-gley."

Nevertheless, in a letter to his sister Mrs. Elliot, dated Calcutta Feb. 4th, 1771, he characteristically, says, "I think myself amply repaid for my expedition by Nanny's approaching happy settlement (26). Harry and Nely deserve everything I can do for them and I hope to succeed when I return to Europe—which will certainly be next season and then farewell to India for ever. You may see Mr. and Mrs. McKenzie (28) the year following."

(23) According to Dodwell & Miles, Cornelius Grant was promoted Lieut. Sept. 5th, 1770.

(24) Orme was a Member of the Council of Madras 1754-1758, Commissary and Accountant General 1757-1758, Historiographer to the East India Company 1769 till his death in 1801. He appears to have had considerable influence with the Court of Directors.

(25) *Qy.* "trust" the word is scarcely legible.

(26) His sister Miss Ann Grant married Capt. David McKenzie, of the Bengal Army in 1771. Their son John was baptized at St. John's Calcutta, 20th May 1772. "John, son of Capt. David McKenzie and Ann his wife." (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 134.)

(27) His brothers Henry and Cornelius Grant.

(28) His sister Ann (Nanny) and her husband.

He left Calcutta 2nd Feb. on the *Asia* (29) and arrived in England in due course.

It would appear that John Grant on his first venture to India in 1759, went out as a Volunteer, accompanied by his brother Henry (30), on board H. M. Ship *Lennox*, one of the fleet taken up to convey the 84th Regt. (Col. Coote) to Bengal. The fleet consisted of four Men-of-War and nine Indiamen, under the command of Admiral Cornish. The Regiment landed at Madras 27th October, 1759, Coote having received a letter on his way out from the Governor and Council of Madras directing him to proceed thither with his regiment and assume command, owing to the urgency of affairs in that Presidency (31).

As John Grant held a medical qualification, he probably acted as Surgeon's Mate during the voyage—but be that as it may, he was appointed Surgeon's Mate to H. M. 84th Regt. in 1759, Ensign do. from Surgeon's Mate 27th May, 1760, Lieut. do. 31st Aug., 1761 (32). Lieutenant in command of 300 Sepoys in association with Major Carnac in 1761 (33), Secretary to Major Adams 1763, employed as a Field Engineer at the battle of Udhua Nullah (Major Adams) Sept. 5th, 1763, (34) Paymaster 84th Regt., h.p. 84th Regt. 1764 till his death in 1804. He transferred to the Bengal Army in 1764, took part in the battle of Buxar (35), October 23rd, 1764 (Major Hector Munro) and having attained the rank of Captain, resigned his Commission and returned to England (? c. 1765).

It will be seen from what has already been stated, that a John Grant served in the 84th Regt. from 1759 till 1764 and was on h.p. of that regiment 1764 till 1804; that a John Grant was Secretary to Major Adams and was probably with him at the capture of Patna, Nov. 6th, 1763 (about a month after the massacre); that a John Grant transferred to the Bengal Army in 1764 and having attained the rank of Captain, resigned his Commission and returned to England; that a John Grant wrote to his sister Oct. 12, 1769, announcing his approaching departure for India with Eyre Coote; that a John Grant was specially promoted to the rank of Major to accompany Gen. Sir Eyre Coote, as secretary, to India (under whom he had previously served in the 84th Regt. in the campaign in Southern India against the French and their allies, and consequently was acquainted with the state of Pondicherry and Chandernagore); and that a John Grant was

(29) Press Lists, Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, Vol. VIII, 185.

(30) Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army*, II, 310.

(31) Wylly, *op. cit.*

(32) *Roll of the Officers of the 2nd Battn., 84th Regt. (York & Lancaster), 1758-1884*, compiled by Major Raikes. A Surgeon's Mate was not, I understand, a Commissioned Officer at that period. (D.T.W.)

(33) Press Lists, Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, VI, 29.

(34) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

(35) "When the 84th Regt. was disbanded and sailed for Home in Feb. 1764, a party of fit men remained behind and took part in the battle of Buxar . . . Among these was John Grant." (Extract from a letter from Major Hardy, Army Vocational Training Centre, Hounslow Heath, dated 8th Oct 1928, to Major Hodson, who kindly allowed me to see it.)

on intimate terms with Orme to whom he was in the habit of writing on public and private affairs. Taking all these facts into consideration, the only conclusion one can come to is, that all these John Grants were one and the same person and that he was almost certainly the author of "Mr. Grant's Journal" preserved among the Orme Collections at the India Office Library.

Who then was this John Grant? His letters to his sister Mrs. Elliot and to Orme, his references to his sister Nanny and to his brothers Cornelius and Henry—the latter, by the way, was Orme's co-executor to the estate of Mr. Hosea (36) Orme's nephew—make it abundantly clear that he was a son of the Rev. John Grant, Rector of Nolton and Vicar of Roch, Pembrokeshire, whose 2nd daughter Margaret married George Elliot, Surgeon, of Laugharne, Pembrokeshire, at Roch Church 14th December 1760, and whose youngest daughter Ann (Nanny) married Capt. David McKenzie, H.E., I.C.S., at Calcuta in 1771. The Rev. John Grant had a family of seven sons and three daughters "who all grew up to be men and women" and were, as stated on his monument (37), "extraordinarily successful in life."

John Grant married 1st, Miss Alice Gilbert of Salisbury (38) by whom, besides daughters, he had a son and heir George (39). He shortly afterwards purchased the estate of Waltham Place (40). White Waltham, near Maidenhead, Berks., and taking out a De'dimus was appointed J. P. for Berks., and lived the life of a country gentleman. Being, however, a man of great energy, ability and versatility, as his record shows, he found time hang heavily on his hands and became a partner in the banking firm (41) of Pybus & Co. (Pybus, Call, Grant & Hale), took a house in Hill Street, where he spent the winter months, retiring to his country seat during the summer, driving to Town as occasion required in his curricule.

On the 7th April 1784 he was elected M. P. for the Borough of Fowey, Cornwall, *vice* Lord Shuldharn (42) but after the death of his wife Alice Nov. 16, 1785, (43), he accepted the stewardship of the manor of East Hendred, Berks., and another person was returned in his place, Feb. 13, 1786 (44).

(36) Orme Collection, India Office Library (13 May 1785 to 12 May 1786), Vol. 214; 19, p. 25; 24, pp. 26 & 27; 44, p. 43; 77, p. 68. William Hosea married Miss Mary Brown at Calcutta, Sept. 17th, 1772. He and his wife and child were among the unfortunate survivors of the *Grosvenor*. (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 499.)

(37) Roch Church, Pembrokeshire. He died 25th July 1767, aged 72.

(38) *G.M.* 1804, I, 91.

(39) Said to have inherited a fortune of £8,000 a year.

(40) This residence, which is still standing, is described in Kelly's *Directory of Bucks., Berks. & Oxen*, 1928, as "a fine building in a well wooded park of 105 acres, situated on the brow of a hill and having splendid views of the surrounding country."

(41) Amalgamated with Lloyd's Bank in 1893. (Hilton Price's *London Banks*.)

(42) *G.M.* May 1784, Vol. 54, I, 369.

(43) *G.M.* 1785, Vol. 55, II, 921.

(44) *Journal of the House of Commons*, Feb. 1786.

He married 2ndly, on the 30th June, 1778, at St. George's, Hanover Square, the Hon. Charlotte Bouverie (45), daughter of Sir Jacob Bouverie, 1st Viscount Folkestone, who survived him.

He died (46) at his seat, Waltham Place, on the 8th January 1804, deeply lamented by his family, relatives, colleagues and friends, and was buried at the parish church, White Waltham.

His letters to his sister, and numerous letters from nephews, nieces and friends show that John Grant was a most kind and generous man, ever ready to render any assistance in his power, not only to his relatives and friends, but also to all those who applied to him—nor did he forget the poor as occasions offered (47). He kept open house both at Hill Street and at his country seat, Waltham Place, where his numerous relatives and friends were ever welcome.

Relatives of John Grant who served in India.

His brother Henry (48), who also served in H. M. 84th Regt. and afterwards in the Bengal Army, having resigned his Commission c. 1767, became a Free Merchant in Calcutta and made a large fortune. In 1779 (49) he married, at St. John's, Calcutta, Miss Alice Camac—sister of Major Jacob Camac, of the Bengal Army—by whom he had a numerous family. He returned to England in 1784 and settled in 34 Portman Square, London, and Gnoll Castle, near Neath, Glamorganshire. He died at Portman Square, July 1831, aged 88.

He and his wife were co-guardians with Warren Hastings to John D'Oyly (son of Sir John D'Oyly), Hastings' adopted son (50) and were frequent visitors at Daylesford.

His brother Cornelius—Major in the Madras Army—was the least fortunate of the Grant brothers. He had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by Hyder Ali in 1780, and remained in captivity in Seeringapatam—"bound in chains and short of the necessaries of life"—for over 3½ years. This so broke down his constitution, that sometime after his release he was obliged to go home on furlough. His health never sufficiently recovered to enable him to return. He died in 1796.

Two other brothers of John Grant, *viz.*, Hugh and Joseph (possibly William Joseph), are said to have gone to India and "made good"—but up to the present, I have been unable to obtain reliable details of their careers. John mentions Hugh in his Will and left him a legacy.

((45) *G.M.* 1788, Vol. 58, II, 658. *Burke's Peerage*, 1923, p. 1835, *s.n.* Radnor, E.

((46) *G.M.* 1804, I. 91.

((47) By his Will dated August 1st, 1787, he left £1,000 to establish a school for the poor of his native parishes, Nolton and Roch, Pembrokeshire, where a brass tablet commemorates the benefaction. (*Fenton's History of Pembrokeshire*, p. 147.)

((48) Hodson, *op. cit.*, II, 314. *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 3rd edn., p. 474, *s.n.* Grant of the Gnoles, co. Glamorgan.

Gnoles, co. Glamorgan. *G.M.* 1831, II, 187; *ibid.* 1832, II, 178; *ibid.* 1845, I, 560.

((49) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 508.

((50) *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, edited by Sydney C. Grier, p. 408.

I may perhaps add here that his eldest brother, Francis, took Holy Orders and got preferment in Ireland. An elder brother Moses (John was the 3rd son) succeeded his father as Rector of Nolton, Vicar of Roch and Prebendary of St. David's, Pembrokeshire (51). His eldest sister Elizabeth married the Rev. Benjamin Hall, Chancellor of Llandaff, after whose grandson (also named Benjamin Hall) the clock in the tower of the Houses of Parliament was called "Big Ben" (52).

His nephew George Elliot had a very successful career in the Bengal Civil Service (53) and had it not been for his early death—said to be due to having been struck by lightning (54) would have undoubtedly reached high office. As it was he rose rapidly in the Service and shortly before his death became Deputy Military Pymaster General. He married, at Calcutta, 10th July 1792, Rachael, daughter of Sir William Dunkin, Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Calcutta, whose eldest daughter Letitia married Francis Macnaghten subsequently Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten (55) Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras. George Elliot died 17th Oct. 1794 and was buried in the Bhagulpur cemetery.

Several other relations of John Grant served in Bengal, among them Major Cornelius Davies (56), Capt. Charles Ranken ("The Roadmaker and Roadmender"), Lieut.-Colonel Elliot Voyle, Major-General Francis Elliot Voyle, Lieut. W. W. Davies Voyle, Bt.-Col. George Elliot Voyle and Sir Henry Meirs Elliot (57) called by Sir W. W. Hunter the '*dulce decus*' of the Bengal Service; but space will not permit further mention of them here. As it is I can almost hear the snip of the Editorial Scissors.

DAVID T. WYLIE, M.D.

Oxford, July, 1929.

(51) *G.M.* 1810, Vol. 80, II, 389. Fenton's *History of Pembrokeshire*.

(52) *Records of Old Westminster*, 1928, p. 412. *D.N.B.*, Vol. VIII, p. 943.

(53) Dodwell & Miles, *Bengal Civil Servants*.

(54) *Memoirs of William Hickey*, Vol. IV, pp. 22, 70, 73, 74, 103.

(55) *Burke's Peerage*, 1928 edn.

(56) Hodson, *op. cit.*

(57) *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, by C. E. Buckland, 1906.

An Old Marriage Register of the Chinsura Church (1768-1812.)

IN the Archives of the Diocese of Mylapore there is an old Register of Marriages performed at the Church of Jesus Mary Joseph of Chinsura from 1768 to 1792. The entries are not in the original, but were copied at Kasimbazar by Fr. Antonio de Santa Rita, on February 6, 1803, and certain documents relating to the Church were included up to 1812.

At fol. 18r (there are indeed 18 leaves up to here) we read:

Obedecendo a Ordem supra (*the order is missing*) do Rmo P.e Commissario Provincial, Fr. Manoel do Rozario, certifico eu abaixo asignado ter copiado os assentos dos casamentos q' se contem no livro velho da Igreja de Jesus Maria Jozé, sita na colonia de Chinsurah, e p' estarem fielmente copiados de verbo ad verbum do seo original, donde me reporto, passei esta, jurada in verbo sacerdotis (sic) e nella me assignei com o meu signal costumado.

Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceicao de Cassembazar aos seis de Fevereiro de mil oito centos e tres annos.

Fr. Antonio de Santa Rita, Vigario.

Obeying the order above by the Most Rev. Fr. Commissary Provincial, Fr. Manoel do Rozario, I, who have signed below, certify that I have copied the entries of the marriages contained in the old book of the Church of Jesus Mary Joseph, situated in the colony of Chinsurah, and that they were faithfully copied, word for word, from their original, to which I refer myself. I made this declaration, swearing on my word as a priest, and I signed it with my usual signature.

Church of Our Lady's Conception at Cassembazar, on February 6, 1803.

Fr. Antonio de Santa Rita, Vicar.

2. The names of the priests who signed the entries or are mentioned are as follows:

1. Frei Joze das Onze Mil Virgens: 1768.1. (The figures after the years indicate the months).
2. Frei Bento de S. Monica, Vicar: 1768. 12; 1769. 4. 6.
3. Frei Raymundo de S. Rita, Coadjutor: 1774. 1. 4.
4. Frei Joao de S. Nicolao, Provisor: 1777. 11; 1778. 4. He was also Provisor in 1780 and 1781.
5. Frei Joze de S. Rita, Vicar: 1778. 3. 8; 1782. 2. 4.
6. Padre Frei Joaquim da Madre de Deos: 1778 (Nov. 25).
7. Frei Feliz da Conceicao, Commissary: 1778 (Nov. 25).

8. Frei Caetano de S. Jozé, Provisor (Dec. 1778).
9. Frei Honoratus "a Caldy, Capucinus, Missionarius Apostolicus Thibeti, tamquam delegatus": 1779. 5. 9.
10. Frei André de S. Roza: 1780. 1; 1783. 3; 1786. 6. 9; 1787. 1. 2. 6. 7.
11. Frei Jeronimo da Purificação: 1780. 6; 1781. 1. 5. 6. 10; 1782. 1. 2. 8. 10. 11. 12; 1783. 1. 7. 9. 10. 11; 1784. 2. 5. 6. 7; 1786. 6. 7; 1787. 6. 7; 1787. 7. 12; 1788. 7. 12; 1789. 1. 2. 5. 10. 11; 1790; 1. 3. 7. 8. 9. 11; 1791. 1. 3. 6.
12. Padre Abrahao de S. Lorenzo: 1780. 6. 11.
13. Frei Manoel de S. Joaquim: 1783. 7; 1791. 10.
14. Frei Manoel do Rozario: 1785. 1.
15. Frei Antonio da Luz, Vicar: 1785. 1. 2. 6. 12; 1786. 2.
16. Frei Antonio Caetano Rois (Rodrigues): 1785. 4. 5.
17. Padre Michael Ferreira: 1787. 10; 1788. 2. 3. 5.
18. Frei Gaspar das Dores; 1788. 6.
19. Frei Joaquim da Madre de Deos: 1792. 5.

3. The number of marriages was:

| | | | | | |
|------|---|------|----|------|---|
| 1768 | 2 | 1781 | 7 | 1788 | 8 |
| 1769 | 2 | 1782 | 13 | 1789 | 6 |
| 1774 | 2 | 1783 | 10 | 1790 | 9 |
| 1777 | 2 | 1784 | 8 | 1791 | 7 |
| 1778 | 5 | 1785 | 9 | 1792 | ? |
| 1779 | 9 | 1786 | 10 | | |
| 1780 | 4 | 1787 | 8 | | |

4. We now proceed to give the Portuguese text and translation of the few documents contained in the same Register.

I.

(Fol. 19r). Treslado do Papel da doação das cazas da Ermida de Chinsurah.

Copy of the Deed of gift of the houses of the Chinsurah Hermitage.

Digo eu Sebastianna Xá moradora em Collicatta, termos de Bengalla, que em Chinsurah tenho hum chao, com huma caza de gudao, sita no destricto e chao dos Moiros, dezembaraçado de qualquer outro senhorio, ou Acredor, o qual por este dou, e faço doação

I, Sebastianna Xá, (1) inhabitant at Collicatta, within the lands of Bengalla, say that at Chinsurah I have a piece of land with a gudao (godown) house, situated in the district and quarter of the Moors, and free from all other lordship or Creditor, the which I hereby give and

(1) The name of the testatrix was probably Shaw. The inscription over her tomb in the left aisle of the Murghihata Catholic Cathedral, Calcutta, is in Portuguese, a fine specimen of carving. In addition to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary at Bandel, Hugli, there was probably the Confraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

ao Rdo. P.e Prior de Ugoly, Fr. Manoel da Madre de D.s, e a seos adiante successores, p.a que nella possa ficar o P.e, que em Chinsurah celebrar Missa, e administrar os Sacramentos áquella Christand.e, com condiçao e encargo, de que o P.e, que nesta caza ficar, p.a este ministerio, será obrigado a dizer cada mez duas Missas, huma pela alma de minha Máy, e outra, em q.to eu vivo, por minha tenção particular, e depois de falecida, aplicada por minha Alma. Declaro que esta doação, que faço, he em quanto assistir Padre em Chinsurah; e se pelo tempo adiante se offerecer rezaõ, paraque nao esteja P.e em Chinsurah, ou assim nao queirao os Rd.os P.es Priores de Ugoly, nao he minha vontade, que os d.os Rd.os P.es Priores possam vender a d.a caza ou empcessarem se della, mas, estando eu com vida, tornará a caza á meo poder, e sendo já defunta, a arrecadarão as duas Irmadades de Ugoly, donde sou Irmam, para o serviço das mesmas Confrarias, deixando nellas o mesmo encargo, e condiçao de duas Missas cada mez. Para fé desta minha data pedi a Diogo da Cunha que por mim fizesse, e assignasse deste theor dois, hum que ficará entregue ao Rd.o. P.e Pr.or de Ugoly, e outro aos Irmaos da Confra.a de N.S. do Rozr.o do mesmo Lugar.

Collicatta em 22 de Fever.o de 1722.

donate to the Rev. Father Prior of Ugoly (Hugli), Frei Manoel da Madre de Deos, and to his successors hereafter, so that the Father may live in it who will celebrate Mass at Chinsurah and administer the Sacraments to that Christianity, the condition and duty being that the Father who will stay in the house for this ministry will be obliged to say every month two Masses, one for the soul of my Mother, the other for my special intention, so long as I live, the Mass being applied to my Soul after my death. I declare that this donation which I make is forasmuch as a Father resides at Chinsurah, and, if in time to come there should be reason why a Father does not reside at Chinsurah, or the Rev. Fathers Priors of Ugoly should not like it so, it is not my will that the said Rev. Fathers Priors be free to sell the house or take possession of it; but, while I live, the house will revert to my possession, whereas, if I am already dead, the two Brotherhoods of Ugoly, of which I am a Sister, will take possession of it for the use of the said Confraternities, the same condition and burden of two Masses every month devolving on them. In truth of this my gift, I asked Diogo da Cunha to make for me and sign two (copies) of this tenor, one of which will be entrusted to the Rev. Father Prior of Ugoly, the other to the Brothers of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of the same place.

Collicatta, the 22nd of February, 1722.

Sinal de Sebastianna Xá, Diogo da Cunha, test.a Fran.co Madr.a, Hypolito do Rozr.o, e P.e Ant.o da Penha.

(Fol. 19r). Treslado do Concelho acerca de 260 rup.as madrastins, q' se gastarao na edificacao da Ermida de Chinsurah.

Aos 13. de Novembro de 1728, propos o Rd.o P.e Fr. Fran.co da Assumpçao, Commissr.o desta nos-sa sagrada Religiao, ao Rd.o P.e Pr.or, e mais P.es conventuaes, que deixando a def.ta Elena Godinho em seo testam.to trezentas rup.as, p.a por ellas se mandarem dizer aquellas Missas, que cada mez chegasse o ganho das d.as trezentas rup.as, e nao querendo os Olandezes, seos Procuradores, q' de alguma sorte fossem as taes rup.as p.a Goa, e só se applicassem p.a a fabrica de huma Ermida, que actualm.te se faz em Chinsurah (o que de nenhum sorte por nos se podia obviar) se seria conveniente, que se aceitassem as d.as rupias, e se applicassem á d.a obra, com a pensao de cada Mez dizer huma Missa pela Alma da defunta o Padre, q' estivei na d.a Ermida de Chinsurah, o q' bem ponderado, e atendendo todos o nao haver outro caminho, pelo qual se podessem alcançar as d.as rup.as, p.a se mandarem p. a Goa, assentarao todos os P.es abx.o assignados, q' se aceitassem, como de facto se aceitarao duzentas, e sessenta rup.

Signature of Sebastianna Xá, Diogo da Cunha, witness Francisco Madeira, Hypolito do Rozario, and Padre Antonio da Penha.

II.

Copy (of the resolution) of the Council concerning 260 Madrastin Rupees which were spent on building the Chinsurah Hermitage.

On the 13th of November 1728, the Rev. Father Frei Francisco da Assumpçao, Commissary of this our Holy Religion, (1) asked the Rev. Father Prior and other conventual Fathers, whether, as the late Elena Godinho had left by her will three hundred Rupees in order thereby to get said as many Masses as the monthly interest on the said three hundred Rupees would allow, and as the Hollanders, her attorneys, would on no account let these Rupees go to Goa, but insisted that they should be applied solely to the building of a Hermitage, which is actually under construction at Chinsurah, it would be proper, considering that we could not prevent it in any way, to accept the said Rupees and to apply them to the said work, on condition that the Father who will reside at the said Hermitage will say monthly one Mass for the soul of the deceased (testatrix). Having well weighed the matter, and all considering that there was no other way for obtaining the said Rupees, in order to send them to Goa, (2) all the Fathers, undersigned, agreed that they should

(1) Of St. Augustine. Religion means here: "Religious Order."

(2) Sic. The meaning is: since they could not send the money to Goa, but could get it only on condition of spending it on the Hermitage of Chinsurah.

as madrastins, pelas trezentas assima mencionadas, nao querendo os Olandezes dar inteiro legado por rezoens m.to justas: e se determinou tambem, q' as d.as 260. rup.as recebesse o Rd.o P.e Fr. Joze da Apresentacao, e as dispendesse, e gastasse na d.a Ermida, q' actualm. te se está erigindo, atenta a necessid.e q' ha, de gastos p. a prefazer a d.a obra: determinando-se tambem, q' pela d.a despezas de hoje adiante o P.e q' rezider na d.a Ermida de Chinsurah seja obrig.o a dizer cada mez huma Missa pela d.a defunta Elena Godinho, como tambem se determinou esta rezolucao se fez este assento p.a q' venha a no.ta do Rd.o P.e Pr.or, q' hoje he, e ao diante for, e com ella obrigar ao Relig.o q' assistir na d.a Ermida a satisfazer as d.as tres (a) Missas. Em fé do q' se assignarao todos, era ut supra.

Fr. Fr.co do Assumpcao, Com-missr.o, e Viz.or.

Fr. Anto de S. Fran.co.

Fr. Ago.to de S. Thereza.

Fr. Joze da Apresentacao. (b)

(Fol. 19v) Treslado do Assento da doacao de humas cazinhas á esta Ermida de Chinsurah.

(a) *Sic.*

(b) As the Register contains only copies, the signatures are not the original ones.

(c) Three Masses, if we include the two of the previous document, dated February 22, 1722.

accept them, as in fact they accepted two hundred and sixty Madrastin Rupees for the above-mentioned three hundred Rupees, the Hollanders refusing for very just reasons to give the entire legacy. It was also settled that the Rev. Father Frei Joze da Apresentacao should receive the said 260 Rupees and should use and spend them on the said Hermitage, which is actually building, considering the need of money to finish the said work. It was also determined that, in return for the said expense, the Father who will reside in the said Hermitage of Chinsurah be obliged from to-day forward to say monthly one Mass for the late Elena Godinho. And, in keeping with the taking of this resolution, this entry was made, that it may come to the knowledge of the Rev. Father Prior actually appointed or to be appointed hereafter, and that hereby he may oblige the Religious who will reside at the said Hermitage to comply with the said three Masses. (3) In truth whereof all signed; dated ut supra (as above).

Frei Francisco da Assumpcao, Commissary and Visitor.

Frei Antonio de S. Francisco.

Frei Agostinho de S. Thereza.

Frei Jose da Apresentacao (of the Presentation).

III.

Copy of the deed of gift of some small houses to this Hermitage of Chinsurah.

A dezoito de mez de Junho de 1757 morreo Monha (a) Cornelia, e p.r verba do seo testam.to deixou humas cazinhas sitas em Chero Bazar em Chinsurah, p.a a Ermida do ms.o Chinsurah, com condiçao, que nao poderao ser vend.as, nem empenhadas, nem alienadas, e só poderá o P.e, q' existir na d.a Ermida tomar o frete dellas, p.a a sua subsistencia, e reforma das ms.as cazinhas, e o M. R. P.e Prior, q' hoje he, e ao diante for tomará o cuid.o, q' se observe este assento.

Em annos passados Nicolao de Coitto, q' D.s haja, deixou p.r seo testam.to outra huma cazinha á Ermida de Chinsurah, p.r morte de sua molher, de q' logo tomamos posse depois da morte della, tam-bem com a ms.a condiçao de se nao venderem, nem empenhar, nem alienar de nenhum modo. Em fé do q' se fizerao estes dois assentos em 26. de Junho de 1757, e se assignarao o M. R. P.e Pr.or e mais P.es, que presentes estavao.

Fr. Bento de S. Silvestre, Proc.
or. (b)

Fr. Caetano da M.e de Deos, Pr.
or.

Fr. Manoel dos Anjos.

Fr. Manoel da Assumpção, Ad-
ministrador.

On the eighteenth of the month of June 1757 died Monha Cornelia, and by the terms of her testament she left to the Hermitage of Chinsurah some small houses situated in Chero Bazar of the same Chinsurah, on condition that they may not be either sold or mortgaged or alienated; the Father who should reside in the said Hermitage will be allowed only to take the rent of them for his maintenance and the repairs of the said small houses, and the Very Rev. Father Prior, both actual and to come, will take care that this deed be observed.

In past years Nicolao de Coitto, whom have God, by his will, owing to the death of his wife, left to the Hermitage of Chinsurah another small house, which after her death we at once took possession of, also on the same condition of neither selling, nor mortgaging, nor alienating it in any manner. In truth whereof these two entries were written on the 26th of June, 1757, and the Very Rev. Father Prior and other Fathers who were present signed.

Frei Bento de S. Silvestre, Proc.
or. (Procurator? Provisor?)

Frei Caetano da Madre de Deos,
Prior.

Frei Manoel dos Anjos (of the
Angels).

Frei Manoel da Assumpção, Ad-
ministrador.

(a) The *m* letter of Monha is doubtful. We suggest Donha for Dona, or Mo.a.a for Monica.

(b) The *c* in 'Proc.or' is clear, but the title is unusual among the Augustinians. We should think of a title higher than Prior, since Bento de S. Silvestre signed before the Prior. The only higher title I can think of is Provisor.

IV.

Estas duas cazinhas se venderao em virtude de hum concelho, visto, nao haver fretadores p.a ellas, e servirem de mayor despeza á Ermida no seo reparo, do q' proveito, cujo preço de 1550 rup.as sicás, com hum adventicio de 50 rup.as prefizerao a somma de mil, e seiscentas sicas rup.as, as quaes estao á ganhos de oito p.r cento na caixa da Comp.a, e dao p.r anno p. a Ermida cento, e vinte, e oito rup.as, as quaes juntas ás duzentas, e sincoenta, q' o P.e def. to Fr. Fr.co de S. M.a deixou annualm.te a ms.a Ermida por seo falecimento aos quatro de Mayo de 1805. fazem a quantia de trezentas, e sincoenta rup.as, que esta Ermida acha p.a o seo reparo; as primr.as 128, se vencem ao primr. o de Janr.o, e as 250. aos 22. de Abril.

Tem mais esta Ermida de Chinsurah hum chao chamado do Semetorio, com alguns coqr.os, o qual prezentem.te rende de fretes nove sica rupias por anno, cujo Patta existe na mesma Capella; (*in another writing*): e de casaná de huma cazinha, que fica no mesmo chao huma rupia cada anno.

These two small houses were sold in virtue (of a resolution) of a Council, considering there were no lessees for them and that they occasioned to the Hermitage more expense for repairs than profit. The price for them, Sicá Rupees 1550, and an additional sum of 50 rupees, made up the sum of one thousand and six hundred Sica Rupees, which are on interest at eight per cent. in the Company's chest, and yield annually for the Hermitage one hundred and twenty-eight Rupees. These added to the two hundred and fifty which, at his death, on the 4th of May, 1805, the late Father Frei Francisco de Santa Maria left annually to the said Hermitage, make the sum of three hundred and fifty rupees, which this Hermitage gets for its upkeep. The former 128 are realized in the 1st of January; the latter 250, on the 22nd of April.

The Hermitage of Chinsurah has also a plot of ground, called the Cemetery ground, with some coconut-trees, which at present yields a rental of nine Sica Rupees. The Patta of it is in the same Chapel; (*in another writing*): and the casaná (*rental*) of a small house situated in the same plot of ground is one Rupee a year.

V.

(Fol. 20r) Treslado Autentico da Carta do S.r Inquiz.or Fran.co Delgado, e Mattos.

Authentic copy of the Letter of the Lord Inquisitor Francisco Delgado e Mattos.

Vio-se a carta que Vm.ces me escreverao, e assentou-se, que os Donos dos escravos, q' fugiao p.a os Moiros, e se passavao a sua seyta, podiao receber do Rey Moiro o preço, e valor dos taes escravos, q' já estiverem feitos Moiros, de tal modo, q' antes de o serem, nao poderao falar no preço delles, de q' tratarao só no cazo, em q' totalm.te nao haja outro recurso, p.a os taes escravos feitos Moiros tornarem p.a a Christand.e. E q' recebido nesta forma o preço dos escravos arrenegados, ficarao os Senhores delles obrigados a tornarem ao Rey Moiro o preço dos ditos escravos, que arrependidos dos seos erros tornarem p.a a Christand.e, porque só se lhes permite, q' possam lucra-lo no cazo, em q' totalm.te nao haja outro recurso, p.a os taes escravos serem tornados á seos Donos, depois de feitos Moiros, visto se entender, que será esto o meyo, p.a nao fogirem p.a os Moiros, experimentando, q' ficao cativos delles, contra a fim do seo intento, que he serem livres do seo cativoiro, passando-se ao Mahometismo. D.s g.d.e a Vm.ces.

Goa, 8 de Mayo de 1680. E eu Bartholameo Roiz, Escrivao do Eccleziastico, tresladei fielm.te do seo original.

Fran.co Delgado, e Mattos. Bartholameo Roiz. Fr. Joao da Nativide, Pr.or.

I saw the letter which you wrote to me, and it was agreed upon that the Owners of the slaves who fled to the Moors and passed over to their sect could receive from the Moorish King the price and value of the slaves who had already been made Moors, in such wise that, before their being made such, they (the Masters) may not discuss the price of them, which they will discuss only in case there be altogether no other help for the said slaves, after becoming Moors, to return to Christianity. And that, the price of the renegade Christians having been received in this form, their Masters will be obliged to give back the money of the said slaves who, on repenting their errors, return to Christianity, because they (the Masters) are allowed to get it only in case there be altogether no other means for such slaves to be returned to their Masters after being made Moors: for it is understood that, when they find out that they remain captives contrary to the purpose of their intention, which is to be free from their slavery by passing over to Mahometism, it will be the means against their running over to the Moors. God keep You.

Goa, the 8th of May, 1680.

And I, Bartholameo Roiz, Scrivener to the Ecclesiastical (Court), copied (this) faithfully from its original.

Francisco Delgado e Mattos. Bartholameo Roiz. Frei Joao da Natividade, Prior. (1)

VI.

(Fol. 20v-21v). Letter to the Vicars by Frei Francisco dos Prazeres, Provisor and Vicar da Vara, from Chinsurah, November 17, 1806.

No mulcting is allowed for banns of marriage, but only for crimes, such as concubinage, or *defloratio virginis*, or disparity of worship, in which case a fine of Rs. 16 is imposed. (I had no time to examine other points of the letter, as I disposed of the MS. only one day, February 2, 1921, while at Mylapore).

(Fol. 21v-22v). Letter to the Vicars by Frei Francisco dos Prazeres, Provisor and Vicar da Vara, from Chinsurah, November 15, 1807.

No water from the chalice is to be given to the sick to drink. Different tariffs in use for permission to bury in different parts of the Churches.

(Fol. 23r-23v). Letter to the Vicars by Frei Francisco dos Prazeres, Provisor and Vicar da Vara, from Chinsurah, November 17, 1806.

The same as at fol. 20v-21v.

(Fol. 24r-24v). Letter to the Vicars by Frei Francisco dos Prazeres, Provisor and Vicar da Vara, from Chinsurah, September 2, 1806.

The clerics must wear the soutane, and never Mass without it.

VII.

(Fol. 27r-27v) Leys e determinações q' resultarao da Congregação intermedia que se celebrou neste Convento de N. Senhora da Graça aos 18 de Junho de 1812 em q' prezidio o Rmo P.e Prov.al Fr. Joaquim de Carvalho (*the outer lower quarter of the pages was eaten by vermin from here*).

(Fol. 25v) O R. P.e Fr. Joze de S. Vincente copie ao pe desta de forma, que faça fe, as determinações, que vierao da Congregação Intermedia para esta Missão. Ordenamos a todos os nossos Religiozos existentes nessa Missão, a quem a execução delas pertence, passem ao pe desta certidão de como lhes forao intimadas declarando ao m.so tempo o L.o

Laws and determinations resulting from the intermediate Congregation celebrated at the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça (1) on the 18th of June 1812, at which presided the Most Rev. Fr. Provincial Frei Joaquim de Carvalho.

Let the Rev. Fr. Frei Joze de S. Vicente copy below this, in such a way that it may have authority, the determinations which came from the Intermediate Congregation for this Mission. We ordain to all our Religious living in this Mission, to whom appertains the execution thereof, to make, below this, a declaration of how they were intimated to them, and to declare at the same

onde ficarem regist.as q' nao havendo outro, sera o dos Inventarios.

Bogthcána, 24 de Setembro de 1812.

Fr. Manoel de S.ta Thereza, Commissr.o Prov.al.

Em obediencia a ordem supra do Rmo P.e M.e Commissario Prov.al Fr. Manoel de S.ta Thereza copiei as leys estabelicidas no cap.o intermedio da nossa Congreg. am de Goa, p.a esta Missao de Bengalla do theor. . . . (*I had no time to copy more*).

What is left of these laws might have yielded some interesting things, had there been time to copy more.

5. The documents published above yield the following names of priests at Chinsurah, or in Bengal and at Goa.

(1) Frei Joao da Natividade, Prior (Goa), 8-5-1680. (Doc. 5.)

(2) Frei Manoel da Madre de Deos, Prior of the Bandel Church, Hugli, 22-2-1722. (Doc. 1.)

(3) Padre Antonio da Penha, Calcutta (?), 22-2-1722. (Doc. 1.)

(4) Frei Francisco da Assumpção, Commissary and Visitor, 13-11-1728. (Doc. 2.)

(5) Frei Antonio de S. Francisco, 13-11-1728. (Doc. 2.)

(6) Frei Agostinho de S. Thereza, 13-11-1728. (Doc. 2.)

(7) Frei Joze da Apresentaçao (Vicar of Chinsurah ?), 13-11-1728. (Doc. 2.)

(8) Frei Bento de S. Silvestre (Provisor ? Procurator ?), 26-6-1757. (Doc. 3.)

(9) Frei Caetano da Madre de Deos, Prior of Bandel, Hugli, 26-6-1757. (Doc. 3.)

(10) Frei Manoel dos Anjos, 26-6-1757. (Doc. 3.)

(11) Frei Manoel da Assumpção, Administrator, 26-6-1757. (Doc. 3.)

(12) Frei Manoel do Rozario, Commissary Provincial, 1803. (Section 1.)

(13) Frei Antonio de Santa Rita, Vicar of Our Lady's Conception, Kasimbazar, 6-2-1803. (Section 1.)

(14) Frei Francisco de Santa Maria, died 4-5-1805. (Doc. 4.)

time the place where they recorded them, which, if they have no other, shall be the register of the Inventaries.

Bogthcána, (2) the 24th of September, 1812.

Frei Manoel de S. Thereza, Commissary Provincial.

In obedience to the above order of the Most Rev. Father Master Commissary Provincial, Frei Manoel de Santa Thereza, I copied the laws established in the intermediate chapter of our Congregation of Goa for this Mission of Bengalla, (which are) to the (following) effect.

(15) Frei Francisco dos Prazeres, Provisor and Vicar da Vara, Chinsurah, 2-9-1806; 17-11-1806; 15-11-1807. (Doc. 6.)

(16) Frei Joaquim de Carvalho, Provincial of the Augustinians, Convent of N. S. da Graça, Goa, 18-6-1812. (Doc. 7.)

17. Frei Manoel de Santa Thereza, Commissary Provincial, Baithakhana, Calcutta, 24-9-1812. (Doc. 7.)

(18) Frei Joze de S. Vincente, on or after 24-9-1812. (Doc. 7.) He was at Baithakhana in September and December 1812; also in months 1, 2, 4 of 1813.

6. We obtain also the following names of lay persons:—

(1) Francisco Delgado e Mattos, Lord Inquisitor, Goa, 8-5-1680. (Doc. 5.)

(2) Bartholomeo Roiz, Scrivener of the Ecclesiastical Court, Goa, 8-5-1680. (Doc. 5.)

(3) Sebastiana Xá (Shaw ?), Calcutta, 22-2-1722. (Doc. 1.)

(4) Diogo da Cunha, Calcutta (?), 22-2-1722. (Doc. 1.)

(5) Hippolyto do Rozario, Calcutta (?), 22-2-1722. (Doc. 1.)

(6) Elena Godinho, who had died before 13-11-1728. (Doc. 2.)

(7) Monha (Dona ? Monica) Cornelia, who died on 18-6-1757. (Doc. 2.)

(8) Nicolao de Coitto, died before 1757. (Doc. 3.)

H. HOSTEN.

The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, D.D., C.I.E.

III

HIS LAST YEARS: RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL AND CIVIC WORK.

AFTER retirement from Bishop's College, Krishna Mohan settled in Calcutta, where he consecrated the remainder of his life to the religious, social, political and civic interests of the city. A pension from the S. P. G. kept him free from anxiety about his livelihood; and, of course, his connection with the Church was still maintained. He soon became an honorary Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta, and later on was appointed domestic Chaplain to the Viceroy. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Roper Lethbridge gave an interesting account of Krishna Mohan's work in a letter (1) written to the Orientalist Miss Mary E. R. Martin from Exbourne Manor on May 13, 1917, as follows:—

"When I first went out to India in 1868, I took with me, among other letters of introduction, one to the then Metropolitan of India, Bishop Milman of Calcutta—and so, soon got on terms of friendship with all the Cathedral course of the year, I next met Dr. Banerjea in another capacity—he was staff, including the famous Christian Brahman Dr. K. M. Banerjea. In the the Government Examiner in Bengali—and I am glad to say he passed me with credit in the most critical part of my Bengali examination, the "Oral" and "Conversational!" He was a most genial Examiner, and we chatted away in Bengali as if I had been to the manner born—and though I know quite well that I made plenty of "howlers," not so much as a smile escaped him, and he managed to extract the sense (or what I hoped was the sense!) of my most involved sentences.

There were very few Christian Bengalis in those days, most of our converts in Bengal being Santals or other hill-men, and Dr. Banerjea was the only Christian Brahman I ever knew. He was greatly revered and loved by all of us, and was a tower of strength to the Cathedral. Twenty or thirty years ago I could have told you many anecdotes to illustrate his sterling character, and the depth of his religious belief. My old friend, the present Bishop of St. Albans (2) was at that time Domestic Chaplain to Bishop Milman, and knew Dr. Banerjea well—and I am confident that, if his Lordship could find time to do so, he could tell you much more about Dr. Banerjea than I can."

Sir Roper Lethbridge was not quite accurate in his remark that at the time of his arrival in India, most of the converts in Bengal were hill-men.

(1) Miss Martin kindly wrote to Sir Roper Lethbridge for his reminiscences on behalf of the present writer.

(2) The Bishop has since died. There may be some notes about Dr. Banerjea in his *Diary*.

Besides Krishna Mohan, there were members of other well-known families who had become Christians. It appears, however, that for some reason conversions amongst the higher classes became rare and, as Dr. Julius Richter remarks, "after Keshub Chunder Sen's dazzling appearance, on the scene this movement towards Christianity came to a complete standstill, and conversions from the first circles of society in Calcutta have been of the most infrequent occurrence. The *Somaj's* have built up, as it were, a wall of demarcation between missions and the Hindu aristocracy" (3).

It must not be forgotten that Krishna Mohan largely assisted in breaking down racial animosities between Indians and Britishers. He was everywhere received as a friend, and cordial hospitality was in return given by him without distinction to all. He extremely disliked racial inequality in social matters, and even in 1848 when there was a rumour that Indians were to be excluded from attending the *levees* at Government house Krishna Mohan wrote to the Viceroy's Private Secretary on the matter. The reply from the Government was that it was never intended to exclude Indians from those functions. It was owing to his initiative that Bishop Milman and his sister arranged parties at the palace where the guests of both races met on equal terms thus leading to interchange of visits. It may be observed that at the present day there is much less cordiality than formerly between the higher English officials and the higher class of Indians. Bishop Milman, like his distinguished predecessor, took much interest in the non-Christian communities of Calcutta. The following passage which occurs in a letter to his sister about the then leader of the Brahmo Somaj will interest the reader:—"Do not forget to ask the Bishop of Winchester and King to get hold of Keshub Chunder Sen. I wrote to Claughton of Rochester about him. I hear he is to be in England for a year and that he is gone to see how 'Christ' looks in a Christian land. The result to my mind is very doubtful especially with the tinge of pride which is in him and which I fear may be nourished in England. . . ." (4).

Now that Krishna Mohan was free from the exacting duties of Bishop's College, he employed his greater leisure in many directions devoting much time and thought to study of the philosophy and literature of ancient India. Owing however to his advanced age he was not able to contribute as regularly as before to various periodicals. Neither did he read as many papers before the different societies as during the time he was at Bishop's College. Yet he was never slow to wage war against social evils of the day and spared no pains in offering documentary support to his own points of view by quoting authoritative texts from the ancient codes. In July 1872, at the request of Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee he contributed a short but interesting article on "Infantine Marriages in India" to the former's magazine, then one of the leading journals of the day (5). In 1875 his

(3) See p. 377 of *A History of Missions in India*.

(4) See chapter VIII, p. 121 of *Memoir of Bishop Milman*, by Frances Maria Milman, John Murray, 1879.

(5) Mookerjee also edited the "Reis and Rayet."

7 Chowringhee Lane
Calcutta 24 June 1882

My dear Madam

I am very much
engorged by your view of Brajpati's
sacrifice. It seems in the inscrutable
Providence of God one race or class
of men was raised up to be repository
of His scheme of human redemption -
and to exhibit both "the prodigious
severity" ushering eventually from
the stem of Jesse the Lord our Righteous
who was like a "light to lighten the Gentiles."
And another race or class was raised up
to receive any direct communication
from Him but to register such relics
of his original primordial Revelations
to Adam or Noah or both as the
tradition might ^{naturally} generally flow from
father to son.

The last was the Aryan
Aryan race - the Iranians and
Indians. The former from their priests

second best known work the *Arian Witness* was published by Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta. This contained a powerful argument addressed to educated Indians proving how some of the ancient legends, and traditions of the Vedic Scriptures, bore unconscious testimony to facts mentioned in the Bible. As for instance the Vedas insisted on the sacrifice offered for the "gods" or mortals by "the Lord of the Creation" and how the same Lord initiated sacrificial rites designed to perpetuate the memory of Himself, the Prajapati. The book did not attract the attention it deserved; and scholars were divided in their opinions about its value. It has to be remembered that it was published more than fifty years ago, and in consequence reflects the scholarship of its period. It would be difficult for scholars to prove now-a-days some of his suggestions; it is for example certain that the hymns of the Vedas were not in any way influenced by the Old Testament scriptures. On its publication Krishna Mohan immediately presented a copy of the book to Dr. Duff, who in congratulating its author wrote that it was "in every way worthy of your deservedly high reputation for learned research and scholarship, while you calmly maintain your character as a Christian." In 1880 he published two supplementary essays to the *Arian Witness* with a view to further elucidating certain points to which exception had been taken by critics. The following year Krishna Mohan wrote another pamphlet, *Relation between Christianity and Hinduism*, for the Members of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta.

It is interesting to mention here that Krishna Mohan wrote a letter to Miss Martin in response to an article written by the latter in which she had referred her point of view about the sacrifice of Prajapati to that explained in the *Arian Witness*. The following is the text of the letter, which is very characteristic of Krishna Mohan's personality and the depth of his religious convictions:—

7, Chowringhee Lane,
Calcutta, 24th June, 1882.

"My dear Madam,

I am very much encouraged by your view of Prajapati's sacrifice. It seems in the inscrutable Providence of God one race or class of men was raised up to be repository of His scheme of human redemption—and to exhibit both "His goodness and severity"—ushering eventually from the stem of Jesse the Lord our Righteousness who was to be a "light to lighten the Gentiles etc." And another race or class was raised not to receive any direct communication from Him but to register such relics of his original primeval Revelations to Adam or Noah or both as the stream of tradition might naturally flow from father to son etc.

The last was the Asiatic Arian race—the Iranians and Indians. The former from their greater predilection for martial pursuits did not preserve so much of God's original dealings and revelations as the Indians did—still the Zendavesta has preserved two or three most important points—

(a) The serpentine form in which the Enemy of God and man introduced sin (b) that the serpent was then a biped (c) that the Righteous one would come in time to destroy the serpent.

The Vedas are however the most remarkable witnesses to God's doings. All this is calculated to "comfort and strengthen those who stand"—and "to raise up them that fall" even in Christian countries—but most eminently is it fitted to call Indians to repentance. Their own revered Scriptures are witnesses of Christian doctrine—i.e., salvation by the self-offering of a divine victim—who was Prajapati the Lord or Saviour of the Creation—the Person begotten in the beginning.

I have often had great distress of mind in reflecting on a subject which I always tried to avoid because it was so distressing *viz.*, the fate of our great forefathers who had left such rare monuments of their genius. But now the fact of such ideals of Christian doctrine in the Vedas not only relieves that distress but also consoles me with the thought that there might have been many a Melchisedec among our ancestors who might have had visions of the true Saviour of which Prajapati's sacrifice was but a "figure" as is acknowledged in the Vedas.

Infidels and scoffers have often complained in coarse language—how is it that God never gave the Gentiles of old any insight into his purposes concerning human salvation. Prajapati's sacrifice justifies the ways of God to man in this respect. *He had* given remarkable insight.

I am
Dear Madam
With much esteem
Yours very sincerely,
K. M. BANERJEA."

The services of so eminent a labourer in the field of Indian thought and literature were now at last to be recognised by the premier University of India. In March, 1876, the University of Calcutta conferred upon Krishna Mohan, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The other two recipients of that year were Rajendralal Mitra (6) and Monier Williams. In introducing the candidates for the degree, the then Vice-Chancellor Mr. (afterwards Sir) Arthur Hobhouse said of Krishna Mohan, "He, too, has laboured long, honourably and successfully at the literature of his country. Of his *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy*, it has been said by Dr. Hall that they are 'a mine of new and authentic indications.' His Bengal Encyclopædia and other works have greatly advanced our knowledge of Indian literature, politics and religion. I may add that one who has left a revered name in this country, the late Bishop Cotton, when advocating the institution of

(6) Sir Richard Temple writes of Dr. Mitra thus:—"Rajendra Lal Mitra, the most effectively learned Hindu of that day, both as regards English and Oriental classics, was preparing his great work on the Antiquities of Orissa. He felt a justifiable pride in the wondrous achievements of the Hindus of old, and doubtless grieved over their political decadence." See p. 428 of *Men and Events of my Time in India*.

Honorary Degrees, some 15 years ago, mentioned even then the name of Mr. Banerjea as a conspicuous example of those who might fitly receive such a Degree" (7). It was not only a well-earned distinction for Krishna Mohan, but also a privilege for the University to enrol so great a scholar amongst her alumni. The leading men of all shades of opinion joined in expressing delight at the honour conferred upon one of their distinguished compatriots and Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee was one of the first who wrote to congratulate him (8). The honour gave great satisfaction also to Dr. Banerjea's old friend, Dr. Duff, who from his far off home in Edinburgh wrote to congratulate him in the most affectionate terms and recalled "the singularly stirring days of 'auld lang syne,' as we say in Scotland, the days of forty-five or forty-six years ago! To think of them, and of the mighty changes since often affords the greatest solace and encouragement to my own spirits. The late Bishop Cotton used to confer with me about it; and we both lamented that the door was not then open. Since returning to this country, I again and again thought of applying to one of our Scottish Universities on the subject; and some obstacle or other always came in the way. I, therefore, now rejoice the more on that account, that it has come to you in a way so natural and in every respect so honourable" (9). Dr. Duff himself was a member of the Syndicate and President of the Faculty of Arts in which capacities he did much valuable work for the University as has already been mentioned.

Dr. Banerjea's reputation as a scholar spread outside his own country and at one time there was a probability of his being offered the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford. If that appointment could have been accepted we agree with the opinion expressed by Bishop Johnson who was "sure that there were men in that ancient seat of learning who would have certainly welcomed him as a power in their midst." It was a pity that Krishna Mohan was not able to accept the position; a man of his culture and erudition would have carried convincing testimony to the savants of the West of what India could achieve in her own sphere of learning.

Probably Dr. Banerjea considered it better to remain in India and consecrate his life to her service there than to transplant himself to another country. His daughter, Mrs. Wheeler, told the present writer that as Mrs. Banerjea refused to go to England Dr. Banerjea was unable to accept the offer. It may be recalled also that in 1841 when Dwarkanath Tagore wanted to take Rajendra Lal Mitra, (then a student of the Medical College) to England, the latter's family would not allow him to go. Under different circumstances another great son of Bengal, the Rev. Lal Behari Day, was refused help by Dr. Duff to complete his theological training at New College, Edinburgh. It was unfortunate that these brilliant men were unable to go

(7) See Vol. I, p. 342-3 of *Convocation Addresses—University of Calcutta*. The writer of the present article is much indebted to the late Sir Gooroo Das Banerjea, who very kindly communicated to him the above reference to Dr. K. M. Banerjea besides other information.

(8) See pp. 128-9 of *An Indian Journalist*, by F. H. Shrine, Calcutta, 1895.

(9) See Vol. II, pp. 528-9 of *The Life of Alexander Duff*, by George Smith.

to the Western seats of learning. They would have created an impression, as representatives of the highest traditions of India, which would have been of extreme value.

When the Indian Association was established in July, 1876, by Mr. (afterwards *Sir*) Surendra Nath Banerjea, Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose and others, Dr. Banerjea was elected its first President. It is certain that during the whole of his career he took a keen interest in the political welfare of his country. Owing, however, to his strenuous life there was little opportunity for taking an active part in politics. His political interests, however, became really alive when the Vernacular Press Act was passed under Lord Lytton's Government. His own loyalty was undoubted yet he never supported any measure of the British Government which he considered unjust or even unfair to his own countrymen. His indignation knew no bounds when the Act was passed and his countrymen without exception shared his sentiments. At that national crisis when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea and others were organising a mass meeting to protest against the Act, support could not be got from Hindu and Brahmo leaders. These feared the Government who had previously warned sundry prominent men to take no part in the demonstration. The organiser of the meeting received, however, sympathetic co-operation from friends in the Christian community. Among these were Dr. K. M. Banerjea and the Rev. K. S. Macdonald of the Free Church in India. When the day of the meeting arrived the organisers found themselves in difficulties, but Dr. Banerjea's appearance at the Town Hall—"grim, dignified, and indignant" put fresh spirit into the proceedings. His speech as Chairman was highly effective, and a letter was sent to Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the Indian Association, thanking him for his support. That letter was the composition of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea and was revised by Dr. K. M. Banerjea. Again when the Vernacular Press Act was repealed under Lord Ripon's administration, a monster meeting was held in the Town Hall in February, 1882, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Banerjea, to express the gratitude of the Indian community to the Viceroy and also to consider the question of local self-government. At that meeting the late Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose moved the first resolution in an eloquent speech. *Sir* Surendra Nath Banerjea in his reminiscences wrote of Krishna Mohan's political activities thus:—"A scholar and a man of letters, it was not till late in life that he began to take an active part in politics. He was associated with the Indian League and subsequently became President of the Indian Association. Once thrown into the vortex of public life, he was drawn into its deeper currents. He joined the Corporation and became an active member of that body. He was then past sixty; and though growing years had deprived him of the alertness of youth, yet in the keenness of his interest, and in the vigour and outspokenness of his utterances, he exhibited the ardour of the youngest recruit to our ranks. Never was there a man more uncompromising in what he believed to be the truth, and hardly was there such amiability combined with such strength and firmness." (10)

(10) See p. 61 of *A Nation in Making*, by *Sir* Surendranath Banerjea.

Further glimpses of Dr. Banerjea's interest in connection with the Vernacular Press Act, together with other reminiscences of him, are furnished by the following letter, addressed from Dacca to Miss Martin on March 29th, 1922, by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E.:—
 "He was a good man and sound scholar. One day in 1876 or 1877 I went to his house at 7, Chowringhee Lane, with my revered Professor, Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna. The celebrated Rama Bai was at his place. Mr. Banerjea received me kindly and I enjoyed for more than an hour the quarter verses in Sanskrit put to the talented lady and the ease with which she filled in the other three quarters of the verse.

"On another occasion I went to the Indian Association in 1878. It was just a few days after the passing of the Vernacular Press Act. He as President came there, but as it was drizzling nobody else came and so we two began to talk. One of the arguments which had induced the Government to pass that unpopular measure was that the vernacular papers used to threaten wealthy men with the disclosure of their family scandals and to get hush money. The Rev. Mr. Banerji said that this was not true in 1878, but it was true in the forties and the fifties, and he gave me some instances which I do not like to repeat for obvious reasons.

"He was an examiner in Sanskrit and he failed a class friend of mine. The class friend went to Mr. Banerji and asked him the reason of his failure. Mr. Banerji told him plainly that he had written 'Kausalyājanivallabhām' where he should have written 'Kausalyāyanivallabhām'—to Mr. Banerji that single mistake of 'j' for 'y' was sufficient to show that the candidate did not know Sanskrit.

"These are a few facts which I know about him. He was an aged man and I was a boy. I rarely came in contact with him." (11)

Dr. Banerjea was the guiding spirit of that younger generation of politicians who were destined in after life to play so important a part in the political history of their country. They were Messrs. Surendranath Banerjea, A. M. Bose, W. C. Bonnerjee, Lalmohun Ghose and others. All regarded him with great respect and valued his counsel in their political activity. Dr. Banerjea presided on the occasion of a public reception held in the Town Hall of Calcutta on March 4, 1880, to honour Mr. Lalmohun Ghose on his return from England. The latter had been deputed by the Indian Association to put various questions regarding Indian administration before the British public. The gathering was a distinguished one, and Dr. Banerjea congratulated Mr. Ghose on the successful manner in which he had carried out his mission. He went on to say that Mr. Ghose was the first Indian ever sent to England with authority to speak on behalf of his people and his splendid reception there was due to that fact. He also expressed the hope that the happy relationship thus begun would draw the two countries still more closely together.

Dr. Banerjea's patriotism never wavered even when obstacles presented themselves. When a national fund was inaugurated in 1883 for

(11) This letter has been inserted by the kind permission of Miss Martin.

carrying on a constitutional agitation in England and in India, the Bank of Bengal refused to receive the money collected at a meeting held for that purpose. Dr. Banerjea, who had acted as Chairman, learning the following day what had happened, went in person with the bag of money collected at the meeting. This he banged down on the Secretary's table, challenging him to refuse it. Needless to say, no further opposition was offered (12). If the Rajah Rammohun Roy was father of the constitutional agitation in India, it was surely Dr. Krishna Mohan Banerjea and his compatriots who gave force to the movement which has undoubtedly secured concessions in the administration of our country. It cannot be too often emphasised that the favourable political situation in India to-day is wholly due to the untiring efforts of her "Young Men." This fact is not so fully appreciated as it ought to be.

Dr. Banerjea's fearless independence of character was exhibited more than once in the field of politics; he did not hesitate to attack high officials of State when he considered they had been guilty of injustice. It may be recalled that he published a pamphlet criticising the speech of the Earl of Ellenborough, who opposed in the House of Lords the Act XXI of 1850 (13). The members of the Upper House took considerable interest in the pamphlet which led to animated discussion when the petition of the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was submitted by their advocate, Lord Monteagle, on May 26, 1853. Dr. Banerjea's main object in writing it was to defend the Indian Christian community in their legal rights regarding ancestral property.

During the time Dr. Banerjea was a Municipal Commissioner he rendered conspicuous service. His retirement from office in 1885 was due to Government interference in the sanitary arrangements of the Corporation—a circumstance that demonstrated his independence and public spirit. It was mainly through the influence of Rai Kristo Das Pal Bahadur that Dr. Banerjea was elected to the Corporation of Calcutta (14). The former cherished a high regard for his integrity of principle and greatly valued his friendship. In short, as "a citizen of no mean city" Dr. Banerjea did valuable public work in multifarious directions.

In spite of feeble health Dr. Banerjea devoted his last few years as already recorded to the social and intellectual welfare of his countrymen. There was hardly any worthy society in the Calcutta of his day with which he was not connected. As a member of the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he did valuable work in collaboration with Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, Mr. E. Thomas and the Hon. G. Campbell (15). His work in the field of Oriental studies was even recognised by the Royal

(12) See *The Young Men of India* for May, 1912.

(13) It was only a few months ago that Mr. Kelkar introduced a Bill in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi to repeal the Act of 1850; but it was rejected by a majority.

(14) See Part I, p. 8, of *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India* by Ram Gopal Sanyal.

(15) P. 196 of *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1784 to 1883*.

Asiatic Society of London which elected him an honorary member. Dr. Banerjea was a remarkable linguist, knowing ten languages, *viz.* :—Bengali, Sanskrit, Hindi, Uriya, Persian, Urdu, English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He also possessed a general knowledge of most of the Indian dialects. He was President of the Society for the improvement of Bengali language and literature, and served on the Committee of the Calcutta School Book Society. In addition he was Vice-President of the Bhowanipore Young Men's Christian Association, served also on the local Committee of the S.P.G. and in the Diocesan Council.

Although his services to the country as a whole were appreciated by two successive Viceroys, yet full recognition did not come till a few months before his death. In January, 1885, the Government conferred upon him the rank of Companion of the Indian Empire. This honour gave great satisfaction both to himself and to his countrymen, for in those days it was only bestowed on those who had rendered eminent services to their country.

Owing to failing health he gradually withdrew from his many useful activities and, becoming aware that life was drawing to a close, turned his thoughts entirely to spiritual things. As the end drew near, he became extremely anxious to see his old friend, Bishop Johnson, who was then away on tour. The Bishop was telegraphed for, and on his arrival went to see him. Dr. Banerjea said, "My Lord, I die in the firm faith in the doctrines of the Christian religion as set forth by the Church of England." It is hardly necessary to say that the Bishop was on intimate terms with Dr. Banerjea and generally turned to him for advice in all difficulties concerning the Christian community. To his family he said "Trust in the Lord"; and his favourite text during the last moments was "God is our Refuge and our Strength," as it had been throughout his Christian life. His motto was "Let righteousness be done though the heavens descend." Dr. Banerjea peacefully passed away on May 11, 1885, in his house at 7, Chowringhee Lane, Calcutta. The following morning he was interred in the Bishop's College burial ground at Sibpur, beside the grave of his wife by his own expressed desire. The funeral service was read by Archdeacon Atlay in the College Chapel "which years ago resounded with the voice of the deceased preacher and professor." Amongst those present to do honour to his memory were his old friend Pandit Mohesh Chandra Nayaratna, Principal of Sanskrit College, the Rev. Father E. Lafont of St. Xavier's College, the Rev. K. S. Macdonald of the Free Church Institution, Mr. (afterwards *Sir*) H. L. Harrison, Chairman of the Corporation, Mr. (afterwards *Sir*) C. P. Ilbert and others. Owing to some confusion in the invitations sent by the family, the attendance was less representative than it would otherwise have been.

His family consisted of four daughters, three of whom were married to Englishmen. Of these perhaps Mrs. Wheeler was the best known as she held a responsible position under Government as an Inspectress of Schools. Her son, the Rev. E. M. Wheeler, M.A., a distinguished *alumnus* of Calcutta University, afterwards became Principal of Berhampore College.

Almost all the Calcutta papers both English and Bengali expressed their sincere regret in lengthy obituary notices. From these a few extracts may be given. *The Englishman* for May 12, 1885, testified that: "In a very literal sense he was a link between the Bengal of to-day and the Bengal of an almost forgotten past, and for many years he had stood alone as a brilliant representative of the group of eager intellectual students who gathered round the youthful poet Derozio, in the early days of the Hindu College." Another leading English paper of the day *The Statesman and Friend of India* for May 13, 1885, also wrote a sympathetic notice of his life and career.

The Indian Daily News for May 13, 1885, joined in the general tribute and dealt specially with the scholastic side of Dr. Banerjea's career:—"In the long roll of distinguished scholars and teachers who have made the Bishop's College famous, the name of Krishna Mohan Banerjea will always hold a high place. He was a man who possessed in a degree rare even among Bengalis the capacity and the temperament of the student. His work in little-known fields of research has been of signal help to many a man, who, coming new to India, required a sympathetic as well as a scholarly guide to the languages and literature of the past. . . . In the glories of the past he found a never-failing source of hope for the future."

The foremost Indian journal of the day, the *Hindoo Patriot*, wrote on May 18, 1885, that Dr. Banerjea was "one of the foremost men in Bengal, the last of a goodly band of ingenuous youths, who five and fifty years ago, first unlocked in this country the treasures of Western knowledge, and made themselves intellectually rich."

It is worthy of notice that an eloquent testimony was also borne to his memory by the Rev. M. Gillan in a sermon preached at St. Andrew's Kirk, in which he described the loss sustained not only by the entire Christian Church in Calcutta, but by the whole community as well. He emphasised how after his conversion Dr. Banerjea had devoted his whole nature to the holy service he had chosen and at the same time threw himself heartily into the social side of Christianity. The sermon ended with a strong appeal to the congregation to emulate the example shown by Dr. Banerjea (16).

The Indian Christian community of Calcutta including some of the European clergy held a public meeting on June 9, 1885, in the transept of St. Paul's Cathedral to express their sorrow at Dr. Banerjea's death and to consider what steps should be taken to perpetuate his memory. The Bishop of Calcutta took the Chair and in the course of an appreciative speech said: "There could be no question that all Calcutta felt that by the death of Dr. Banerjea, a great man had been taken away from their midst. This was a common feeling, expressed by all classes, all races, and all creeds, and he himself had heard leading gentlemen of the Hindoo and Mohammedan community express deep regret at the loss which they in common with Christians had sustained by his death." The Bishop further reminded his

(16) See *The Statesman*, May 20, 1885.

audience that Dr. Banerjea was a devoted servant of the Church of England and that his "religion was more or less intellectual, emotion having no place in his heart whatever." Amongst those who took part in the proceedings were Mr. Kali Charan Banurji, Rev. A. Clifford, Rev. P. M. Rudra, Rev. K. S. Macdonald and others. Another meeting of Indian Christians had been previously held at Krishnagar.

Outside his own community, public bodies and societies held meetings of condolence. At the quarterly meeting of the Commissioners in the Town Hall on May 14, Mr. H. L. Harrison took the Chair and a resolution was passed concerning Dr. Banerjea's valuable work in connection with the Municipality. The Indian Association at a special meeting also passed a resolution recording their sense of the irreparable loss they had sustained by the death of one "whose ripe scholarship, broad sympathies, untiring zeal, fearless independence, and unwearied exertions in the cause of social, moral, intellectual, and political advancement of his countrymen entitle him to their lasting gratitude." The Committee of the Association also recommended that a portrait of Dr. Banerjea, be kept in the Association Rooms.

At a meeting held in the Albert Hall on June 6, under the Presidency of Archdeacon Atlay, a leading member of the Mohammedan community, Mr. Abdur Rahman said:—"Dr. Banerjea had been before the public for more than half a century. His enthusiasm, his vast erudition and great earnestness of purpose, could never be forgotten. He played a most important part in the social, moral, and intellectual advancement, and the formation, so to say, of the national character of the people of Bengal." Pandit Siva Nath Sastri, the leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj also joined in the tribute to his memory. In the course of an eloquent speech he remarked that Dr. Banerjea was "not only a literary character and a great scholar, but was known as a patriot of the truest type, whose voice was heard not only in the Municipal Board and the Indian Association, but also in many other places." Mr. J. Morrison said that Dr. Banerjea was "one of those immortal men who live again in the minds of others."

The Sheriff of Calcutta convened a meeting of citizens at the Town Hall on August 25, 1855, for the purpose of taking steps to perpetuate his memory. It was a representative gathering and amongst those who spoke were Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Rev. K. S. Macdonald, Rev. C. H. Dall, Nawab Abdul Luteef Khan Bahadur, Mr. Protap Chandra Mozumdar, Mr. Kali Charan Banurji and others. The first resolution was proposed by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and seconded by Mr. Macdonald. The latter referred to Dr. Banerjea's great qualities and said that his patriotism alone was sufficient to command the "admiration and gratitude" of his countrymen. He also alluded to the thoroughness of his learning and his wide reputation as a Sanskrit scholar. Nawab Abdul Luteef also spoke in high terms of praise and referred to his own co-operation with him in various social movements. Mr. Protap Chandra Mozumdar aptly remarked that Dr. K. M. Banerjea embodied the heroic qualities of the old Aryan race, recalled his ready sympathy for all requiring help, and declared that the

emancipation of Hindu women was a subject which had always stirred his deepest feelings. On the motion of Kumar Benoy Krishna Deb an influential Committee was elected for the purpose of collecting funds in order to raise a suitable memorial (17).

In June of the same year the Asiatic Society of Bengal at their monthly meeting made appreciative reference to his work. The Bethune Society with which Dr. Banerjea was so long connected also held a memorial meeting under the Chairmanship of Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. J. S. Cotton in the theatre of the medical College.

The Senators of the University of Calcutta, Dr. Banerjea's old *alma mater*, in grateful recognition and remembrance of all his past services perpetuated his memory by purchasing a portrait which can still be seen in the Senate House.

Conclusion.

Such was the testimony of the press and people of Bengal, and those with whom he worked for the cause of Christ in India. There remains now only the task of summing up the chief features of his remarkable career. Dr. Banerjea was a born reformer who in spite of immense difficulty and even active persecution remained ever true to his convictions. The ideals and example of the great Rajah Rammohun Roy inspired him, but he showed innate courage in adopting the Faith he believed to be true. As leader of a band of reformers he never failed to inspire those who followed him with his own zeal and enthusiasm. In this way they were uplifted morally and spiritually and became a real force making for the regeneration of India. He was in fact the Apostle of Christ to Bengal as St. Paul was to the Gentiles. In many ways indeed he reminds us of that son of Tarsus. Possessed of many similar characteristics including pride of birth, Dr. Banerjea was a tower of strength to his fellow-converts, many of whom came from the humbler classes.

As minister of the earliest Bengali Anglican Church he displayed a strong sense of duty, tended his flock with anxious care, using all the influence and knowledge at his command for their spiritual welfare and commended himself to his ecclesiastical superiors as a zealous and able exponent of the Christian faith. In certain things he was more consistent than his European colleagues, for they were not "without respect of persons" in so far as colour was concerned, a distinction he utterly abhorred. To him all were "one in Christ Jesus." The heads of the Anglican Church in Bengal were fully aware of his learning, ability, character and piety and that he was worthy even of a Bishopric, yet to this illustrious son of India was given only a Canonry with a stipend less than that of his European junior. *Apropos* of this fact it may be mentioned that in an article on Dr. Banerjea published in 1912 the writer observes "even now there is more narrow-mindedness and race prejudice in Christian communities than there is in

(17) The proceedings of the meeting were reported at length both in *The Indian Daily News* and in *The Statesman* on August 26, 1885.

Government or official circles." In more recent years, however, the position of Indian Christians has greatly improved in this respect. As one consequence of the political movement they are learning to assert a right to equal treatment with those of European birth. For this they are deeply indebted to the Indian nationalists but for whose action this would have been impossible.

Dr. Banerjea showed as much enthusiasm in acquiring secular knowledge and culture as devoting to Christian theology. He gave a great stimulus to Bengali literature and his reputation for Sanskrit scholarship as well as knowledge of the European classics was practically international. This combination in the erudition of both East and West was one great reason why Indians and English alike appreciated him so much. He was really a great educationalist and an ideal teacher whose sympathy with philanthropic and social movements was broader and deeper than is often found in men devoted to these vocations. But without a doubt this was due to the absolute sincerity of his Christian profession.

To his intellectual vigour and outstanding personality was due the pre-eminent position he held among Bengalis of every creed. Hindus and Mohammedans equally respected him and sought his advice in difficulties both public and private. Indeed, the whole life of the man is a shining example of what can be achieved by character alone. For, in spite of his adoption of what his countrymen must have regarded as an alien faith, he did much in his own person to bridge the gulf that for centuries has yawned between the various Indian communities in their political and social aspirations.

In his mode of life he was very Western and though loyal to the Government was a genuine Indian patriot. The fact of his Christianity did not prevent his joining non-Christian friends in opposing political measures likely to be detrimental to his countrymen. This characteristic, it may be remarked, was conspicuous in other eminent Indian Christians, e.g., the Rev. Lal Behari Day and Mr. Kali Charan Banerji. The fact helps to dispose of the popular belief that in becoming a Christian one ceases thereby to be a patriot.

Dr. Krishna Mohan Banerjea lived and died a man of faith, loyal to both creed and Church and, above all, loyal to his Maker. His name will live for long in the hearts of his countrymen.

HARIHAR DAS.

The following letters from some leading men who knew Dr. K. M. Banerjea in Calcutta may interest our readers. They were addressed to the present writer in answer to his request for their reminiscences. Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerjee of Uttarpara on September 4, 1916, wrote:—

"Dr. K. M. Banerji and the Rev. J. Long were great friends. They put up for several weeks in our library and collected materials from our

library books for their writings. I spent an hour or two occasionally with him and found in him an agreeable companion, although he was much older than me. I do not recollect any incident in his life or conversation, which is worth while communicating to you. You have doubtless read the account of his conversion and his letters in the 'Noted Indians' by Ram Gopal Sanyal and also stray notices of him and his co-converts in the old 'Calcutta Journal' and 'Oriental Magazine.'

The Right Rev. Bishop A. Clifford also kindly wrote a few lines on February 15, 1922:—

"I knew Dr. K. M. Banerjea a little but not enough I fear to make my remembrances of him of any use to you. He was a striking figure in Calcutta Society in the 70s. and quite unlike anybody else. . . . Dr. Banerjea's generation has passed away and I cannot think of any one in England who would have known him except Miss Neele. . ."

The following letter was received on behalf of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on March 14, 1922, from Santiniketan:—

"The poet Rabindranath Tagore has no distinct memory of the late Reverend Dr. K. M. Banerjea, as he was very very young when he saw or met him. He recalls only one incident which may prove of interest or use to you. The poet, though still very young, delivered a lecture on music, and the late Rev. Dr. Banerjea who presided at the meeting praised him generously" (18).

Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bt., C. B., son of the distinguished administrator, and himself a writer of eminence on Indian subjects, has very kindly supplied the following information about Dr. K. M. Banerjea:—

"I am sorry to say that I have not much in the way of personal recollections of Dr. K. M. Banerjea, as I did not go to India until 1871. Almost immediately afterwards I applied myself to the study of things Indian and amongst my early prized possessions by the foremost scholars of the day was his *Aryan Witness*. It was that book which made me understand that Hinduism was philosophically a Theistic Religion and his *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy* gave the impetus to my desire for some knowledge of the Indian philosophies now so much better understood than they were then.

Note:—The writer of this article wishes to express his thanks to all who have assisted him by their personal recollections and in other ways.

HARIHAR DAS.

(18) Mr. Ernest Rhys also quoted the poet's account of the lecture on music in his *Biographical Study of Tagore*. (See p. 43.)

The following works of Dr. K. M. Banerjea are available at the British Museum, London, with the exception of those marked with an asterisk, which can be found at the India Office Library. This list has been copied from the catalogues of the respective libraries:—

(1) See Adams (W.) M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. *Moral Tales*, containing the King's Messengers by W. Adams and the Reward of Honesty by Maria Edgeworth [with a Bengali translation by K.V.] 1849. 12°.

(2) See Cotton (G.C.L.) Bishop of Calcutta. *Revelation, Christianity and the Bible. A course of lectures . . .* By (K. M. Banerjea, etc.) 1864.

(3) See Purāṇas. *Purana Sangraha . . .* in the original Sanskrit with an English translation. Edited by K. M. Banerjea, etc., Sansk. & Engl. 1851, etc. 8°.

(4) See Rama Mohan Raya. *A Review of the Moonduck Oopunishad*. Translated into English by Ram Mohun Roy. To which is prefixed an Essay on . . . religion (by K.M.V.) 1833.

(5) See Vedas.—Rigveda. *Rig-Veda Sanhita*, the first and second adhyayas of the first ashtaka, with notes and explanations and an introductory essay on the study of the Vedas by . . . K. M. Banerjea, 1875.

(6) See Wilson (D.) Bishop of Calcutta. Adapted to the use of the diocesan committee for the natives [?] Churches in Bengal. A plain and affectionate address to young persons previous to their receiving the Lord's Super . . . Translated into Bengalee by . . . K. M. Banerjea, 1841.

(7) *The Arian Witness: or the testimony of Arian Scriptures in corroboration of Biblical history and the rudiments of Christian Doctrine*. Including dissertations on . . . Indo-Arians, etc., Calcutta, 1875.

(8) *Biography*. Part I. containing the lives of Yudhisthira (original contribution), Confucius (from Du Halde's description of the empire of China), Plato (from Stanley's Hist. of Philosophy), Vicramaditya (original contribution), Alfred (from Turner's Hist. of the Anglo Saxons), and Sultan Muhmud (from Elphinstone's Hist. of India). [Compiled by K.V.], p. 168, Engl. and Beng. Calcutta, 1847.

No. V. of the "Encyclopædia Bengalensis," edited by Krishnamohana Vandyopādhyaya.

(9) *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy*, comprising the Nyaya, the Sankhya, the Vedant. To which is added a discussion of the Authority of the Vedas. Calcutta and London, 1861.

(10) *Elements of Geometry*. The first three (fourth, fifth, and sixth) books of Euclid, by John Playfair, with additions by William Wallace. . . to which is prefixed an extract from Lord Brougham's essay on the objects, etc., of science, and a short compendium of algebraic rules from Whewell's *Mechanical Euclid*. (To which is added a selection from Bland's *Geometrical problems*, and the *Lilavati*) [of Bhaskara Acharya. Compiled by K.V.] 2 pt. Engl. and Beng.

No. II and IX of the *Encyclopædia Bengalensis*, edited by Krishnamohana Vandyopadhyaya.

(11) A funeral sermon [on Rev. XIV, 13] . . . on the decease of Baboo Mohesh Chunder Ghose, Calcutta, 1837.

(12) *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy* . . . Second Edition. Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, 1903.

(13) *Geography*. Part I containing a description of Asia and Europe. Compiled [by K.V.] from Murray's *Encyclopædia of Geography*, Molte Brun's *Geography*, and other works. Engl. and Beng. Calcutta, 1848. 12°

No. viii of the "*Encyclopædia Bengalensis*," edited by Krishnamohana Vandyopadhyaya.

(14) *The History of ancient Egypt* [compiled by K.V.] from Rollin and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Engl. and Beng. Calcutta, 1847.

No. vi of the "*Encyclopædia Bengalensis*," edited by Krishnamohana Vandyopadhyaya.

(15) *Lectures to educated native young men*. Lecture fourth . . . on Vedantism. [Calcutta, 1851.] 8°.

(16) *See Hindu*. Remarks on Rev. K. M. Banerjea's Lecture on Vedantism. By a Hindu. 1851.

(17) *Miscellaneous readings, or detached pieces on various subjects, adapted to the comprehension of the natives of Bengal* [compiled by K.V.] 2 pt. Engl. and Beng. Calcutta, 1846-47. 12°.

No. III and VII of the "*Encyclopædia Bengalensis*," edited by Krishnamohana Vandyopadhyaya.

(18) *The Missionary duties of the Christian Church*. A Sermon [on Is. Liv. 2, 3], etc., Calcutta, 1843.

(19) *The peculiar Responsibility of educated Natives and their duty . . . to inquire into the Christian Scheme and Salvation*. A lecture, etc. *See Christian Scheme*. *The Christian Scheme of Salvation*, etc., 1866.

(20) *A prize essay on Native Female Education*. Calcutta, 1841.

Second edition, revised and corrected. Calcutta, London, 1848.

(21) *The relation between Christianity and Hinduism*. *See Papers*. *Occasional Papers on Missionary Subjects*, etc. No. I [1881, etc.] 8°.

(22) *Remarks on the speech of the Earl of Ellenborough in the House of Lords, on the Bengal Petition against Act XXI of 1850, of the Government of India*. Calcutta, 1853. 8°.

(23) *Sanctity of Conjugal Relations*. Reasons for signing the clerical petition against the Remarriage of Converts Bill. Calcutta, 1865.

(24) *A sermon* [on Matt. IX, 37, 38] preached at St. John's Cathedral, Calcutta, at an ordination holden on Ascension Day, May 13, 1847. Calcutta, 1847.

(25) *Sermons addressed to Native Christians and inquirers in Bengal*. Calcutta 1840.

(26) A sermon [on Matt. VI, 10] . . . occasioned by the sudden death of G. E. L. Cotton, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta. Calcutta [printed], London, 1866.

(27) A Reply to the Rev. K. M. Banerjea's remarks on the speech of the Earl of Ellenborough, in the House of Lords . . . against Act XXI of 1850, of the Government of India. With an appendix containing the speeches of Lord Monteagle and the Earl of Ellenborough. By a Member of the Committee appointed by the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, for petitioning Parliament against the aforesaid Act. Calcutta, 1853.

*(28) A few facts and Memoranda with reference to the early career of the late Honourable Prossunno Coomar Tagore, C.S.I., and to his last will and testament, pp. 20, 21 cm. Calcutta, 1870.

*(29) Primitive Brahmanism and its Institutions, 1874.

*(30) The Proper place of Oriental literature in Indian collegiate education. Calcutta, 1868.

Halebid.

ITS ANCIENT HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE.

ANY keen observer knowing a little of Kanarese will, while inspecting the may of Mysore, guess that behind the modern name ' Halebid ' attached to a small village of the Belur Taluka, Hassan District, there must be a hidden precious treasure of history and romance. For the name Halebid, composed of the two Kanarese words *Hale* (old) and *biḍu* (camp) clearly shows that underneath those mounds of ruins there is the glory of a forgotten dynasty; and over them a cycle of tales has been built by the popular mind.

And indeed it is related that Vīrasomēśvara, the grand-son of Ballāla II of the Hoysala Dynasty towards the middle of the 13th Century, being attacked by leprosy, withdrew to the hill of Pushpagiri—one of the hills that surround the modern village of Halebid—where he was instructed to erect temples of Siva to obtain the cure of his disease (1). Thus the practical mind of the simple folk of Halebid has fancifully dressed up the bare historical event of the enlargement of the ancient city by Somēśvara.

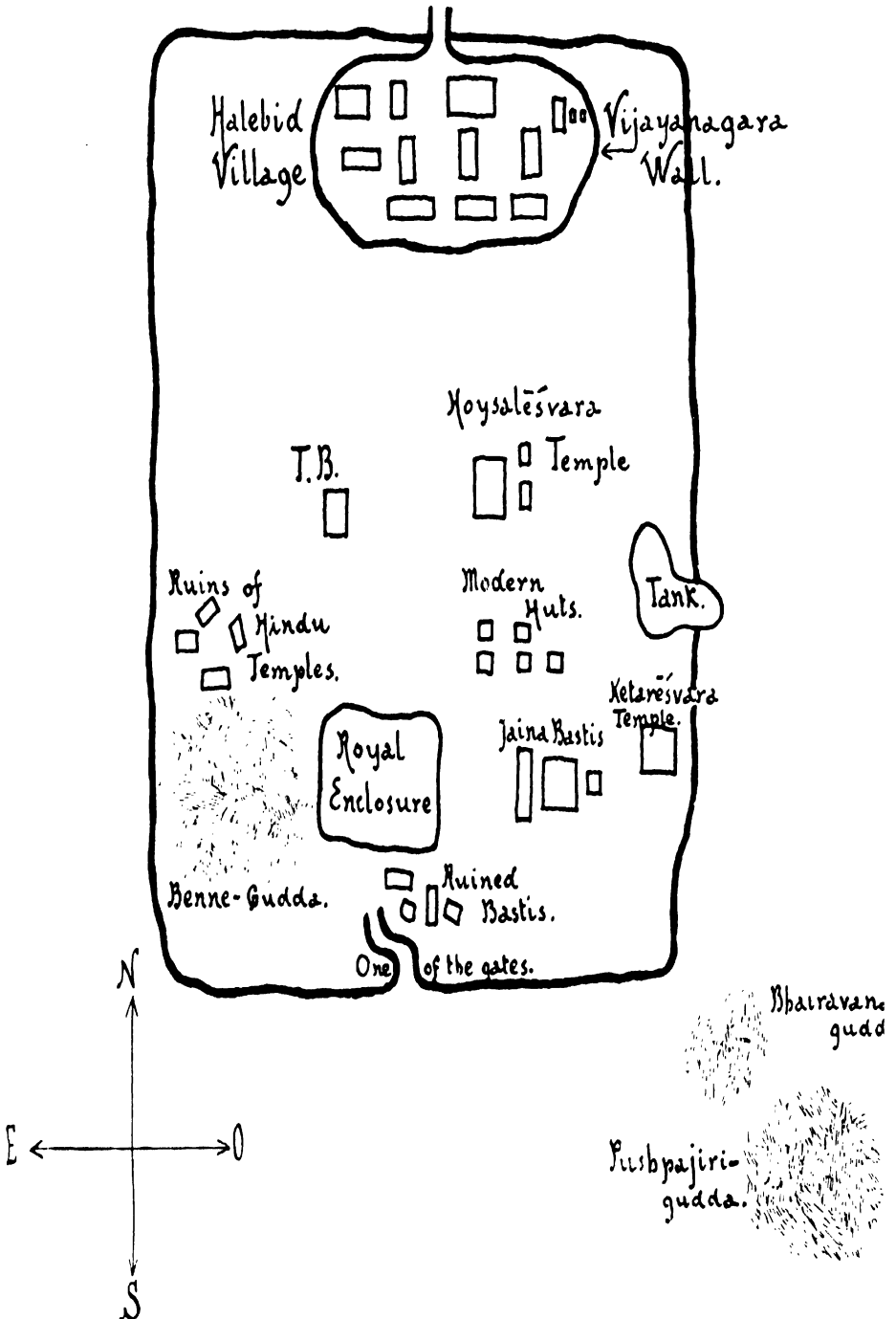
In point of fact Dōrasamudra—for such is the ancient name of the town, now almost completely forgotten—was first taken as the capital of the Hoysala Empire by the great Viṣṇuvardhana, the first who shook off the yoke of all the neighbouring rulers. His predecessors had ruled from Sosavūr on the Western Ghats, the original place of the family, or from Belur since the time of Vinayōditya. Narasimha I and Ballāla II enlarged the new capital, but it was not till the time of Somēśvara that Dōrasamudra was considerably extended and beautified.

Today the ancient capital of the Hoysalas is only a small village, the head of a hōbli. There is no river in its neighbourhood, as there was close to the other two previous capitals, Sosavūr and Belur. The greatest number of houses are now clustered in the southernmost part of the village, while there are very few in the northern part. The road from Belur to Banavar—the nearest railway station—crosses the village from west to east.

* * * *

To the south-east of the village there are two hills called Bhairavana guḍḍa and Pushpagiri guḍḍa. The latter is the hill referred to in the legend mentioned above. The former has on its top a shrine to Bhairava, the god of death; the cremation grounds of the old capital seem to have been in this neighbourhood.

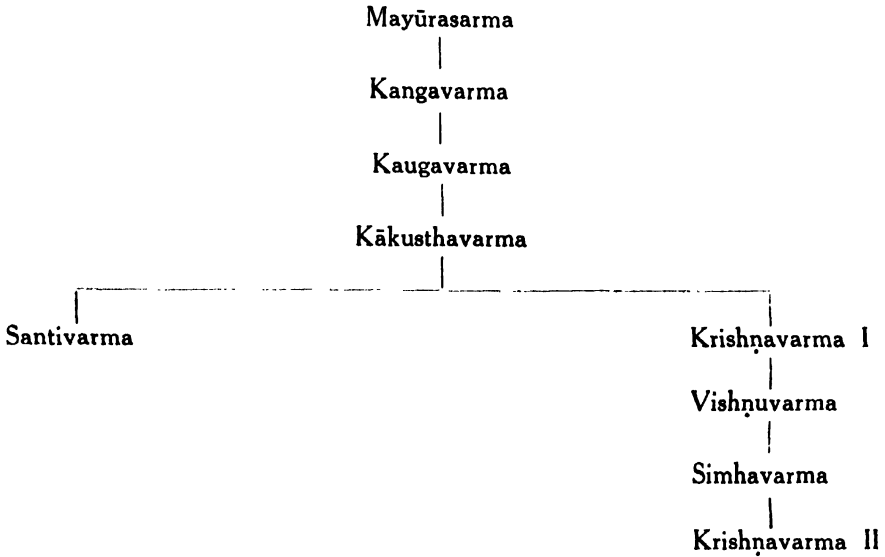
(1) See other legends in Srikantaiya, *Topography of Halebid*, *Q.J.M.S.*, VIII, pp. 186-7; 192-3.



MAP OF HALEBIDU.

Towards the west, but not far from Pushpagiri gudda there is another hill called Benne gudda, or "butter hill". There are not other heights in the vicinity of Halebid. This circumstance is of the utmost importance in the ancient history of Karṇāṭaka.

In 1888 there was found in the surroundings of Bannahalli in the Belur Taluka a set of copper-plates of Krishṇavarma II of the early Kadamba Dynasty (2). The ancestors of this Krishṇavarma are to be found in the following pedigree:



The descendants of Santivarma continued ruling at Banavasi. But his brother Krishṇavarma, probably at the time of Santivarma's death, declared himself independent at the capital of his Viceroyalty (3). This Viceroyalty seems to have been in the south, as it is called Dakshināpatha, in relation with the main capital of the Kadamba Empire, Banavasi, which accordingly was supposed to be in the north. In a copper-plate grant of Dēvavarma the capital of this southern kingdom is given the name "Tripurvata". This town has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has identified Tripurvata with Dēvgiri, Hāveri Taluka (4), apparently for no other reason than the fact that the above set of copper-plates of Dēvarama was found at this village. Against this identification the following reasons seem to have some weight:—

- (1) The capital of the Dakshināpatha ought to be situated south of Banavasi whereas Dēvgiri is north-east.
- (2) The name Tripurvata, which means "three, mountains," seems to suggest a city conspicuous for three mountains or hills in its neighbourhood.

(2) *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl, 121.

(3) Cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba-Kula*, p. 37.

(4) Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 101.

- (3) Together with the copper-plates of Dēvavarma, two copper-plate grants of Mr̥gesvarma were found at Dēvgiri (5). This King had his capital at Banavasi. Hence there would be equal reason to identify Banavasi with Triparvata, had the site of Banavasi not been well known to scholars and geographers.

On the other hand there seem to be more powerful reasons for identifying Triparvatha with the ancient site of Dōrasamudra:—

- (1) A set of plates of Krishṇavarma II of the Dakṣiṇāpatha has been found in the neighbourhood of Halebid (6).
- (2) Halebid is south of the city of Banavasi, and hence it could seem to be the capital of the Dakṣiṇāpatha.
- (3) In the neighbourhood of Dōrasamudra and protecting it on the south and south-east sides, there are the three hills mentioned above, that may have given the name to the ancient capital.
- (4) That Triparvata was to be in one of the western districts of Mysore, is not only clear on account of its geographical position, but also from the fact that the later Kadambas of Manjarabad used to call themselves "boon-lords of Tripura" (Triparvata) (7), just as the Kadambas of Goa and Hangal are sometimes styled "boon-lords of Banavasi."
- (5) One stone inscription of these Kadambas of Manjarabad, in which they received the title of "boon-lords of Tripura," is found at Hale-Belur not far from Halebid (8).

The fact that the name Triparvata is completely lost, and no name resembling it is found in those southern districts, seems to confirm our identification. Mr. S. Srikantaiya seems to derive the name Dōrasamudra from the problematic Hoysala King Dōra (9). But in point of fact the first occasion in which this name "Dōrasamudra" seems to be attached to the locality where Halebid now stands, is when Ballāla I built a tank there and called it Dōrasamudra, i.e., ocean of Dōra (10). Now "Dōra" means nothing in Kannaḍa. Hence Dōrasamudra is to be taken as a corruption of Dvārasamudra; and this in turn is a corruption of Dvārakasamudra, or "the Ocean of Dvāraka," the capital of the supposed ancestor of the Hoysalas, Krishṇa (11). When the Hoysala throne was established on the site of the modern Halebid, the denomination of that tank, so glorious for the real Yādava race, was transferred to the new capital. Consequently the old name of the place was soon totally forgotten; just as the name Dōrasamudra itself has now completely disappeared. During the rule of the later

(5) *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 36, 38.

(6) *Ep. Carn.*, V, B1, 121.

(7) *Ep. Carn.*, I, No. 56.

(8) *Ep. Carn.*, V, Mj, 18.

(9) Shrikantaiya, *O.C.*, pp. 187-8.

(10) Narsimhacharya, *Karnataka-Kavi-Charite*, I, p. 111.

(11) My opinion is that the Hoysalas were not Aryans, as they seem to claim, but purely Kanarese people whose origin is to be placed on the Western Ghats.

Vijayanagara rulers of the Sangama Dynasty, the place was officially called by the half Sanskrit, half Kanarese name Jīraṇa-biḍu, or Old Camp. The Sanskrit word Jīraṇa was afterwards changed into the Kanarese Hāḷe, having the same meaning. Had it not been for the great temples, walls and other ruins, Dōrasamudra would never have been identified.

* * * *

The ruins of Hāḷebid may be classified in two groups: religious ruins and civil ruins. The latter are very little known. Travellers spend all their time round the Hoysalēśvara and Ketarēśvara temples and forget these remarkable ruins of the glory of the Hoysalas.

To the east of Beṇṇe guḍḍa, just at the foot of the hill, there runs a wall built with big irregular blocks but completely destroyed in some places and partially ruined in others. This is the wall of the royal enclosure—a quadrangular space, a little higher than the rest of the town as it approaches the slope of the hill. The space surrounded by this wall are now mere fields without any sign of the glorious past; but the village folk by oral tradition still preserve the memory of what was within that enclosure in the palmy days of the Hoysalas. The whole enclosure is called *aramane hola*, "palace field"; and within the walls several spots are pointed out under different names. Here is the *tankasale hola* or "coin-minting field"; close by is the *hajarada gundalo* or "assembly hall"; then the *aramane* or palace itself, and finally, the *anegundi*, the "elephants' pit" or "stable."

Just opposite the palace enclosure there is a small plateau on the slope of the Beṇṇa guḍḍa, which is called *Firengi battery*. They say that the place was meant to contain a battery of cannon to defend the royal palace. The appellation *Firengi* given to this battery is not without interest. There is no likelihood of there ever being any *Firengi* (European) helping the Hoysalas to defend their capital against their enemies. Does the name *Firengi battery* suggest the western authorship of the defence?

Besides the walls of the royal enclosure described above, there are still at Hāḷebid two other more walls which are worth studying. The most important of them is the wall of Dōrasamudra, the ancient capital of the Hoysalas. This wall has totally disappeared in many places, but its remains clearly show what was the enclosure of the whole city. The south-east corner of the wall rested almost upon the slopes of the Bhairavana guḍḍa. The southern wall then ran westwards and turned to the north after enclosing the Beṇṇe guḍḍa within it. Just after crossing the modern road from Belur the remains of this wall take a north-east direction, and then turn towards the south after having passed along the walls of the modern village of Hāḷebid. Thus the village stands wholly within the irregular quadrangle formed by the old Hoysala walls.

According to local tradition there were 12 gates in these walls; and close to those gates there were twelve tanks. One of them was most likely the Dōrasamudra, spoken of above which gave its name to the city. Several of these gates and tanks are still to be seen. The gates are very broad and

preceded by a zigzag passage, such as we find in some of the Indian forts of later days. The best preserved of the gates is the one situated to the south of Beṇṇe guḍḍa, though the bushes and trees growing over it are continually threatening those huge venerable blocks that witnessed the glory of the Hoysaḷa-vamśa. Close to this gate there is the Katte Sōmanahalli tank.

The other wall above referred to surrounds the nucleus of the modern village of Halebīḍ. This wall also is in a ruinous state. It was built according to tradition by the Vijayanagara Emperor Praudha Dēva Rāya, called also Mallikārjuna, in the beginning of the 15th century.

No other civil remains of Dōrasamudra are to be found in the modern Halebīḍ; but the religious buildings afford a greater attraction to the tourist as well as to the historian.

* * * *

Within the modern fort of Halebīḍ, just mentioned, there are four temples of no great importance. One of them nevertheless is in purely Hoysaḷa style with a fine representation of Saḷa killing the tiger, like that found in the great temples built by Viṣṇuvarḍhana and his successors. There are besides a number of ruined temples and bastis in the surroundings of the royal enclosure. To the west of the Dak Bungalow there were several temples, (12) the remains of which are now disappearing. Some portions seem to have been used for reconstructing the Ketarēśvara temple, when this was practically destroyed by a tree which grew on its *vimāna*. Other portions have been silently removed by visitors, who were apparently interested in Hoysaḷa archaeology.

There is another interesting group of ruins, south of the royal enclosure, that belong to an old Jaina basti. A huge image of a nude standing Tirthankara, probably Parshvanatha, with a hooded serpent lying not far from it, shows that the basti was a very important one. Who destroyed this basti it is difficult to say. Rāmānuja, after the conversion of Viṣṇuvarḍhana to Vaiṣṇavism, wrought much destruction on both Saiva and Jaina temples. But this was equally done by some Mussalmans after the conquest of the Hindu cities; and the army of Mallik Kafur after the conquest of Dōrasamudra most likely followed the usual practice of those days.

There is another Jaina basti, in good order and use, south of the Hoysaḷaśvara temple with a nude standing Tirthankara. There are other small shrines in the compound of this basti.

But the two great temples, on account of which Halebīḍ is now famous, are the Hoysaḷēśvara and the Katarēśvara temples. While inspecting them one has to consider their architecture, their sculpture and their value in the study of Hoysaḷa History.

* * * *

(2) According to the Patel of the village, Mr. H. S. Chikkanna Gauda, there were five temples in this place.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE HALEBID TEMPLES.

Fergusson and the ancient writers on Indian architecture did not recognise the existence of Hoysaḷa architecture, and used to classify all these and similar temples under the general but wrong denomination of Chalukya architecture (13). Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard, M.A., late President of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, suggested a new name for these temples, so different from the Chalukya ones, not only on account of their historical origin, but also on account of their style (14). The Archaeological Department of Mysore, at whose head was then Rao Bahadur R. A. Narasimhachar, adopted this name not long after. Hence it is strange that Mr. Cousens in his work on *Chalukayan Architecture* should classify as Chalukya a number of temples that are purely Hoysaḷa (15).

To begin with, the old Kadamba and Chalukya temples that preceded the Hoysaḷa ones are always square or quadrangular in shape. The Hoysaḷa architects gradually changed this plain design of the temples into a star-like form. There are several examples of these transition stages. The Kēsava temple at Hirekadalūr, Hassan Taluka, for instance is still a simple square. On the other hand the Chennakēsava temple at Honnāvara, same Taluka, built by Narasimha I, already shows the tendency to a star; neither the shrine, nor the hall in front of it, can any more be called square. This transition is clearly revealed in the Vīra Narāyana temple at Belavādi. The original shrine with hall attached to it is just like the one at Honnāvara. But in front of it two *mandapas* were built in later times, both star-shaped. Sometimes, later on, the original shape of this star is not square but circular; such is the case of the *mandapa* of the Isvara temple at Arsikere, built by Ballāla II, closely imitated by the architect of the Jaina basti within the old fort of Belgaum.

Another peculiarity of the architecture of the Hoysaḷa Emperors is the conglomeration of shrines in the same temple—three, four and sometimes five shrines, forming in most cases a cruciform temple.

A classical model of these temples is the Kēsava temple of Sōmanathapur, built by Narasimha III. At Ratihalli, Hirekerur Taluka, Dharwar District, the old Kadambēsvara temple was reconstructed by some Emperor unknown, perhaps Vishnuvardhana or his son Narasimha. In this reconstruction two shrines were added, one on each side of the original one, and all three were crowned with beautiful *vimānas* (16). Both Hoysaḷa characteristics are to be seen in the temples at Halebid and specially in the Hoysaḷesvara temple which has preserved its original shape. The temple

(13) Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, pp. 442-50, etc.

(14) Cf. Srikantaiya, *Topography of Halebid*, *Q.J.M.S.*, VIII, p. 194.

(15) Such are for instance; the Kasiśivesvara and Nannesvara temples at Lakkundi; the Muktesvara temple at Chandadampur; the Siddhesvara temple at Haveri; the Tarakesvara temple at Hangal; the temple of Mahadeva at Ittagi; the Kedaresvara temple at Belgaum; the Kadambesvara temple at Ratihalli; the Dodda Basappa temple at Dambal; and the Saraswati, Somesvara and Trikutesvara temples at Gadag.

(16) Cf. Heras, A. *Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents*, *J.B.H.S.*, II, pp. 120-124.

consists of two shrines perfectly similar to each other, both of them cruciform; the double hall in front of them has a star-like shape. In front of both shrines there are two *mandapas* with their respective Nandis; one of them is perfectly square; the other is like the transition temples above spoken of.

As regards the exterior of the buildings, the Hoysala architects did not break suddenly with the common type of Hindu temple in Karnāṭaka, which has been called Dravidian by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil, but which is the purely Kadamba temple. The Varāha-Narasimha temple at Halsi, Belgaum District, is one of the best specimens of this style. The *vimāna* is a square pyramid crowned by a *kalasa*. The different stages of this pyramid are formed by slabs the edges of which are not plain but decorated by a sort of a tooth-like projection, that gracefully breaks the monotony of the whole construction.

One of the early Hoysala temples, the Lakshmidēvī temple of Doḍḍa Gaddavalli, built by Vishṇuvardhana in the beginning of the 11th century, has four shrines with as many *vimānas* built in this plain style. It is interesting to find the well known Hoysala crest, *viz.* Saḷa fighting with the tiger, in front of these *vimānas* in Kadamba style.

Yet the evolution commenced shortly afterwards. The plain, almost triangular spaces of those tooth-like projections were first of all decorated; then new ornamentations were added between slab and slab, while some of the former tooth-like projections were enlarged and frequently crowned by a *kirtimukha*, the origin of which will be discussed later on. At the same time the *vimāna*, accommodating itself to the evolution of the plan of the shrine towards the star shape spoken of above, assumed a fluted appearance though often hidden below a gorgeously protuse ornamentation. The result was that the original pyramid of the Kadamba temples in a few years, during the reign of Vishṇuvardhana, became a pointless cone surmounted by a mere pinnacle that took the place of the *kalasa*.

Such are for instance the *vimānas* built by Vishṇuvardhana in the second half of his reign and by his successors. A handsome specimen of such *vimānas* is to be found in the Isvara temple at Arsikere, built by Ballāḷa II. The Kēsava temple at Sōmanathapur, built by Narasimha III offers three beautiful specimens of such *vimānas*. This temple, one of the latest temples built by the Hoysala monarchs, perhaps shows the climax of perfection in form and proportion, though it cannot claim the climax of perfection in decoration and carving.

Unfortunately the temples at Halebid are much mutilated. The *vimānas* have totally disappeared; and the flat roof covering them is the greatest disappointment, the student of history and art finds at the old Hoysala capital.

But this disappointment is successfully counteracted by the most agreeable surprise produced by the filigree of ornamentation, and perfection of carving. Let us first step into the temples themselves to examine their interior.

The most striking features in the interior of the Hoysala temples are the pillars and the ceilings. The latter are extremely varied, sometimes imitating wooden beams or flexible silk ribbons interlaced in the most fanciful manner; sometimes showing beautiful lotus flowers, which are occasionally pendant in a daring but successful way. Perhaps the most beautiful of these pendant flowers is in the ceiling of one of the *mandapas* in front of the Tarakēsvara temple at Hangal (17), probably built by Vishṇuvardhana. The pillars are exquisitely ornamented with all sorts of figures, designs and flowers.

Sometimes there are not two pillars alike within the same temple; each of them was perhaps carved by a different sculptor, each following his own inspiration. Such is the case in the Kēsava temple at Belur. One of the most famous pillars in Hoysala architecture is a pillar of this temple, called the Narasimha pillar, situated in the middle hall. Beautiful specimens of Hoysala pillars are also found in the *mandapa* of the Saraswati temple at Gadag. They are perhaps the finest specimens of Hindu pillars in the Presidency of Bombay.

Nothing specially remarkable is to be found in the interior of the Halebid temples. The historian nevertheless will naturally pay attention to the local tradition concerning the two different kinds of pillars found both in the interior of the temple and in the southern Nandi *mandapa*. Some pillars are plain, and placed without symmetry and order. They number 8 in the Nandi *mandapa* and 13 inside the temple, and they are locally called Praudha Dēva Raya's pillars. The Vijayanagara Emperor Mallikārjuna apparently repaired this temple by adding some new pillars to support parts of the building that appeared weak. The pillars seem to have been made for this purpose, excepting two at the south end of the temple, the ornamentation of which suggests a more ancient origin. They probably were pillars of an ancient Hoysala temple already in ruins at the time of Malikārjuna. One of these pillars erected by Mallikārjuna has an inscription on the four sides of the pedestal. This and other inscriptions of this temple have been long ago published by Mr. Lewis Rice in Vol. V of *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

As regards the outside of the temples, the first objects to be noticed are the stone screens. Such perforated stone screens also are a common feature in the Kadamba temples. The latter nevertheless are quite plain, (at least in the early days) and placed on each side of the shrine door. Later on these screens were embellished; and they occasionally surrounded the whole door-frame, as in the beautiful temple at Degamve built by the Queen of the Kadamba King Sivachitta, of Goa. The Hoysalas sometimes shifted these screens away from the door of the *garbhāgraha*, and finally placed them round the *mukha-mandapa*, which in the Kadamba temple was always open. But the greatest difference between the Hoysala screens and the Kadamba screens lies in their decorations. These occasionally occupy

(17) Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 180.

such a prominent place in the Hoysala screens, that the screen itself totally disappears to the eyes of the most diligent observer, and is only discovered when one goes inside and sees the patches of light that appear here and there in the black wall of the temple. Such are for instance the screens of the Somēśvara temple at Narsapur, Mysore State: passages of the Mahābhārata or of the Rāmāyaṇa are carved all over the screens and the holes remain wholly unnoticed. The perforated screens of the Kēśava temple at Belur are still more striking. They are sometimes hidden behind the figures of the gods of other personages. Even the Darbars of Viṣṇuvarḍhana and Narasimha are represented on two of the screens of that temple.

The screens of the Halebid temples are not so elaborate; as a general rule they represent wooden mouldings and panels.

SCULPTURE IN THE HALEBID TEMPLES.

While describing the main characteristics of the Hoysala architecture, we have already spoken of the perfection of the sculpture. Yet one cannot realise the delicacy of the design and execution, without seeing the figures of the Halebid temples. Other Hoysala temples may excel in many other qualities; but there is none that surpasses the delicate images of Halebid.

Four things are to be considered while studying Hoysala sculpture; the *Madanakai* or bracket figures, the *Dvarapalas* or gate guardians, the images of the shrines and the figures of the walls.

1. *Madanakai*.—These bracket figures are purely decorative and only apparently they fulfill the function of brackets by beautifully hiding the right angles between pillars and beams, where they are firmly fixed in proper sockets. The figures generally represent dancing girls and in some cases different deities. The poses of these figures are always conventional, but in spite of this conventionalism they are extremely realistic and graceful. The tree ordinarily carved on the top of the bracket is in many cases hollow inside, being in reality a piece of lace made in stone. Such Hoysala brackets were spread far outside the Hoysala dominions. They are to be seen in the Degamve temple built by a Kadamba Queen of Goa in the middle of the 12th century, in the Jaina basti within the fort of Belgaum and in the temple at Kidrapore, Kolhapur State.

2. *Dvarapalas*.—In the Kadamba temples no *dvarapalas* or gate-keepers are usually to be found. Once only a couple of *dvarapalas* are seen on each side of the shrine door in one of the small temples at Hale-Banavasi. The Chalukyas nevertheless used to have *dvarapalas* on both sides of the shrine door, after the fashion of the early Buddhist and Brahmanic caves. The Hoysala architects continued this custom, and sometimes even placed two *dvarapalas* guarding the door of the temple. This happens both at Belur and at Halebid. The *dvarapalas* at Belur are small and inartistic; but those at Halebid undoubtedly mark the apex of Hoysala sculpture. When one approaches the southern door of the Hoysalēśvara temple—the door which is called “royal” as it was used by the kings when coming from their palace—those life-size figures on both sides of the door are really imposing



CARVINGS IN THE HALEBIDU TEMPLES.

A four-wheeled Chariot. Below Sala killing a tiger.

Ketarāśvara Temple. Horsemen Fighting

But if you go nearer you will forget their majesty and imposing appearance, which will be succeeded by a feeling of wonder at the delicate filigree of those silent figures that have kept the entrance to the temple for nearly eight hundred years. The only dress of those *dvarapalas* consists of jewels, but those are in such a profuse munificence that the whole body is practically covered. These jewels are carved out of the same stone from which the image is made, but their hanging position is so natural and their whole appearance is so soft and tractable, that one is inclined to handle those delicate garlands to examine attentively the genuineness of those imaginary precious stones and the skill of the supposed gold-smiths who fabricated that armour of jewellery. I really do not know of anything more beautiful in design and more perfect in execution in all Indian sculpture.

3. *Images in the Shrines.*—The same richness of ornamentation is to be found in the images in the shrines. It is very easy to distinguish the images of the gods of the Hoysala school from the other images of earlier date. The Hoysalāsvara and Katarēsvara temples of Halebidu have no images in the shrine, but only lingas. The Kēsava temple at Belur has many images of gods, all of them with a pointed carved tablet on their back, usually crowned with a *kirtimukha*. The Kēsava temple at Kausika, Hassan Taluka, has a beautiful image of that god, remarkable not only for the majesty of his posture and his decoration, but also for the elegance and delicacy with which he holds the different emblems in his four hands. The Hoysala images of the gods, to differentiate them from the dancing girls of the *madanakai*, are always in static pose. At Belur nevertheless there is one in a dynamic position—a beautiful image of Kṛṣṇa playing on the flute, with his legs gracefully crossed in the conventional way.

4. *Images on the Walls.*—The rear of the Hoysala temples, specially those at Sōmanatapur and Halebidu are completely covered with images and carvings. The upper portion presents images of gods and goddess, musicians, dancing girls, heroes, etc. Needless to say that the perfection of detail one finds in these images is a real wonder, and it is a pity indeed that such minutely detailed images are placed so high, for one is not able to appreciate them properly. Some of those statues bear the name of the sculptor at their base.

The lower portion of the temples is surrounded by a series of several fascias with interesting carvings. Sometimes these carvings have not been commenced. Next to a beautiful and detailed carving there is sometimes a plain block. These carvings offer material for study both to the artist and to the historian. Accordingly we shall examine some of these carvings of historical importance.

HELP FOR THE STUDY OF HOYSALA HISTORY.

One of these fascias, in all the Hoysala temples that have them, consists of a procession of animals that apparently are lions. These lions are exactly in the same position as the Kadamba lions carved on top of the old door leading to the old temple at Banavasi. The lion was the crest of the

Kadambas, and as such it was carved in their inscriptions and sometimes in their temples. In some Kadamba temples the lion is used as a purely decorative motif; such is the case of the lions standing erect carved round the parapet of the temple at Degamve. From the Kadamba temples this lion migrated of the Hoysala temples; and thus the gopuram of the Siddhēśvara temple at Häveri, which is in purely Hoysala style, is covered with lions (18). A pair of lions is also to be seen over one of doors of the Kēśava temple at Belur. Hence it is not strange to find a procession of lions round the Hoysala temples built by Viṣṇuvardhana and his successors. But the most interesting thing is that, when following this endless procession round the temple, here and there, one suddenly comes across the figure of a man who is about to kill one of these lions; and in one case only—in the Hoysalēśvara temple at Halebid—he is killing two lions at the same time. This is precisely the well known crest of the Hoysalas, *viz.* Sala killing the tiger, as explained in the legends of the XIIth century contained in many Hoysala inscriptions. But the fact is that in the sculptures the animal killed by Sala is not a tiger but a lion, as the mane evidently shows (19). This fact perhaps shows that the Hoysala crest is a symbol of the victory of the Hoysalas over the Kadambas in the time of the Viṣṇuvardhana, and may incidentally reveal the time when the legend of Sala was being formed. The discussion about the Kadamba lion appearing in the Hoysala temples, invites us to study another point connected with the preceding: that is the question of the *kīrtimukha*.

Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil explains the appearance of the *kīrtimukha* in the Ganga-Pallava architecture of the IXth century, by a peculiar evolution of design in the *kuḍu* of the caves of the Asokan period (20). Yet the cause of the appearance of the *Simha-mugam*—as the *kīrtimukha* is called in the Tamil country—is not explained by the learned Professor. The great Dutch archaeologist, Mr. J. Ph. Vogel, also feels himself unable to explain the origin of the *Kāla-makara*—such is the name the *kīrtimukha* receives in Java—though he seems inclined to regard it "as an effigy of the terrible good Kāla" (21).

(18) This lion was also common in Pallava architecture, as may be seen in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram, and at Mahabalipuram. Thence it migrated to Viyaganagara, as the temple at Vellore shows.

(19) During the short period of Hoysala domination at Hangal, Viṣṇuvardhana built the Tarakesvara temple and placed over it at least two carvings representing the Hoysala crest. Shortly afterwards the Kadamba king Kamadeva re-conquered the capital of his ancestors, and apparently caused those carvings to be mutilated: in one the head of Sala was cut off, and in the other, now standing over the entrance to the temple compound, the whole figure of Sala was removed: the result is that what was before the Hoysala crest, now appears as the Kadamba crest. A keen observer nevertheless will discover the dagger of Sala carved over the mane of the lion. Cf. Héras, *A Historical Tour*, J.B.H.S., II, p. 132.

(20) Jouveau Dubreuil, *Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde*, I, pp. 60-62.

(21) Vogel, *The Relation between the Art of India and Java, The Influence of Indian Art*, p. 60. Cf. Stutterheim, *The Meaning of the Kāla-Makara Ornament, Indian Arts and Letters*, III (N.S.), pp. 27-52.

The study of Kadamba history and archaeology may perhaps give a satisfactory solution to this puzzle. In point of fact in the early Kadamba temples the *kīrtimukha* is never seen. It appears for the first time in the Hoysala temples when the Hoysala architects had already adopted the Kadamba lion as a decorative motif. The head of the same lion was another beautiful design, and was rapidly propagated through South India and even to far off Java. The *kīrtimukha* also travelled northwards to Gujerat and Bengal and is known practically all over India.

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Other fascias of the temple zocles at Halebid are decorated by many scenes of the epic or puranic books with great energy and vividness of action. Many of these carvings are war scenes between Rāma and Rāvana, or of the Pandavas' wars. The sculptors of those scenes represented those heroic wars as the wars were being fought in their own days. Hence the importance of these carvings for the historian in order to study the art of warfare during the Hoysala period.

After a study of the carvings we can affirm that the foot-soldiers wore a flat helmet descending down to the ears on both sides, like a judge's wig. The legs below the knees generally were bare but the trunk must have been protected by mail; their swords are long, sometimes straight and sometimes curved. The shields they used were either circular or square. They had rings on the inside to be fixed on the left arm. The square shield had a projection at the lower end in the shape of a bar, for the purpose of resting them on the ground when the soldiers stood at ease.

The archers were an important factor in the army. The bows and arrows were used in the place of the modern guns, when defending a fort or when attacking the enemy at a long distance.

Chariots were used by the kings and most likely by the generals. They were drawn by horses, and they had one or two pairs of wheels. Some of these cars had no borders or railings round; this made it easier for the occupants to escape in time of need. The two-wheeled chariots were very small and of light weight. These were probably used when the army had either to flee or to pursue the enemy. The chariots have a perpendicular staff on the back, on which is placed the symbol or crest of the king. The chariots lead the army and the occupants use arrows, when the enemy is at a distance; but when occasion for a hand-to-hand fight offers itself, they have recourse to the sword and shield. Their elevated position gives them facilities to attack the enemy on foot. The kings are surrounded by a few faithful body-guards or life-guards to protect their person. These were called *garudas* during the time of Hoysalas; they wore a *todar* or chain on their legs as a sign of their devotion to the king (22).

The horses represented in these carvings, specially in the Ketarēsvara temple, are also worth studying, as they show the armour of the horses

and of the riders. Some of the horses are represented with a large coat-of-mail descending well below the knees. It sometimes consists of steel scales overlapping downwards so as to facilitate the movement of the body. Sometimes the scales are not seen and instead some beautiful floral designs appear all over the caparison, which probably is also of steel. The heads of the horses are also well covered with plates of steel. The rider hides his legs up to the hips, under the armour of the horse, while his head is covered with a flat helmet. These burly creatures were probably used when besieging forts, their armour being a protection against the hail of arrows from inside the fort. Some horses are not armoured except for a few straps round the neck and loins. The riders however are completely armoured their legs and thighs being protected with mail or perhaps with leggings. Such a cavalry was evidently used in open battles where agility and swiftness was required.

Such are the lessons taught by those silent stones that have witnessed the glory of the most flourishing Hindu Empire in Southern India 800 years ago. Systematic excavations would discover many new treasures of History and Art. It is to be hoped that the University of Mysore and the Archaeological Department will take up this task, so glorious for India, and so fruitful for the history of our country.

H. HERAS, S.J.

Our Library Table.

India Under Wellesley: by P. E. Roberts, Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford. (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1929. Fifteen Shillings net).

Mr. Roberts is careful not to claim that his account of Lord Wellesley's Indian administration is either exhaustive or final. But, although he writes all too rarely, he is an acknowledged authority on the history of the period: and his estimate of the character and work of the great Governor-General is not likely to suffer from his candid admission that there is room for a diversity of verdicts. Lord Curzon, who resembled Wellesley in many respects, has been rebuked in certain quarters for the emphasis which he has laid upon his vanities and foibles. But those who are aware of what he actually wrote in the second volume of his *British Government of India* (p. 173) will not assent readily to the censure. "Wellesley," says Lord Curzon, "was at the same time both great and small, a man of noble conceptions and petty conceit, a prescient builder of Empire and a rather laughable person." There is much sound sense in this observation. It would be foolish to judge Wellesley from such glimpses as we get from Farington's Diary, where he is represented as "an ugly little man" afflicted by "excessive personal vanity," and where Sir Thomas Lawrence's malicious story is repeated, that when he sat for his portrait at the age of 53, he took the trouble to paint his lips. But it must be admitted that many of the letters which are reproduced by Mr. Roberts do display, as he himself concedes, a spirit which is hardly worthy of a great man. He jeers at the Irish marquessate conferred upon him after the fall of Seringapatam as a "double-gilt potato." It is true that he certainly deserved the English earldom which rewarded such minor personages as Minto, Amherst, and Auckland: but George the Third, who was a shrewd judge, was not far wrong when he described Wellesley as being inflated with pride, and with his own consequence," and as "assuming to himself the exclusive merit of all that has done in the East." When Mr. Roberts observes (p. 298) that Wellesley refused to entertain any offers of office until his reputation had been cleared from the absurd charges brought against him in the House by the adventurer James Paull (1), he overlooks, we think, the entry made in his diary by Speaker Abbot (2) on April 24, 1807, nearly a year before the charges were finally voted upon and rejected:

(1) For an account of James Paull and his efforts to impeach Lord Wellesley, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 69-109.

(2) *Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester*: edited by his son (London 1861).

"Lord Sidmouth called. The object of Lord Wellesley, by his own professions, is to be reconciled to the East India Company and to go back to India as Governor-General." The letter which he wrote to ministers in August, 1840, when nearly eighty years of age, and in which he submitted "the justice of his claim to a dukedom of the United Kingdom," exhibits the same hankering for pomp and power. A year later, he was complaining that "he who has founded a new empire in the East takes rank in the British peerage with the captor of the fort of Ghuznee," Sir John Keane. The appraisalment of his services should have been left to other pens.

But, when the final balance comes to be struck, there can be no gain-saying the fact that he was a mighty ruler of men, even though, as Lord Curzon (of all men!) puts it, the highest sense of public and personal duty which animated him operated always as a gracious dispensation from a benign Providence. He was, of course, an autocrat: and it was natural that he should excite the anger and invite the censure of the Court of Directors. Mr. Roberts refuses to blame the Directors. One of the most valuable parts of his book is his documented examination in Chapter XXIII of the difficulties involved in the triple control constituted by the Governor-General in Council in Calcutta, the Court of Directors at the India House, and the Board of Control in Whitehall: and he sums up the position as follows in his preface:

There were no precedents to guide that generation. The problem had necessarily to be worked out by a *solvitur ambulando* and the three bodies were perhaps the best means then available for reconciling Indian experience with commercial interest and political control. It is not surprising that the Court of Directors lagged behind both their great Governor-General and the Presidents of the Board of Control of that time in their appreciation of imperial questions, but at least they had a point of view which has not been altogether understood, and which they ably defended.

The President of the Board had the most difficult part to play. He was like the Prime Minister who is condemned to lead a party composed of widely differing schools of thought. As for the Directors, they made ample amends. But it was not until 1837 that they sent him their famous message of appreciation and voted him a gift of £20,000 sterling; four years later, they ordered a marble statue by Weekes to be set up in the General Court Room (3). The history of the College of Fort William is related in Chapter XIV. Mr. Roberts describes in detail the controversy between the Directors and the Board of Control which arose out of Wellesley's action. Castlereagh suggested a draft despatch accepting the Governor-General's plea for a postponement of the dissolution of the College: the

(3) The statue is now one of four on the main staircase of the India Office. The others are of the Duke of Wellington by Matthew Noble (voted in 1852), Lord Cornwallis by John Bacon (voted in 1798) and Sir Eyre Coote by Thomas Banks (voted in 1784).

Court rejected it and substituted a draft of their own. The Board of Control declined to be overruled, whereupon the Court maintained that the decision on a question of wages and salaries rested with them alone, and obtained a legal pronouncement to that effect. Having won this victory, they accepted the Board's despatch with some modifications. Mr. Roberts, we observe, appears to think (p. 155) that the life of the college came to a speedy end. As a matter of fact, it was not formally abolished until 1854 (order by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal of January 24, 1854), although it assumed more modest proportions than Wellesley had designed for it (4).

We have not the space to follow Mr. Roberts through his admirable survey of the various other phases of Wellesley's administration: the problem which presented itself on his arrival (Chap. III) the subsidiary alliance system (Chap. IV) the Mysore campaign and the events which preceded it (Chaps. V to VII), the destruction of the last remnants of French influence at Hyderabad (Chap. VIII), the Nabob of Arcot's debts (Chap. IX) and the various questions connected with the Carnatic, Tanjore, and Surat (Chap. X), the "coercion of Oudh" (Chap. XI), the settlement of the ceded Provinces (Chap. XII), Foreign and Imperial Policy (Chap. XIII), the treaty of Bassein (Chaps. XVII and XVIII) the Mahratta war in the Deccan and in Hindustan (Chaps. XIX and XX), the operations against Holkar (Chap. XXI). In addition, there is a Chapter (XV) on the Indian trade, which will be welcomed by students: and Chapter XXIV deals with the policy of reversal which followed Wellesley's resignation in 1805.

Wellesley has been charged with nepotism: and he certainly did not neglect the interests of his brothers Arthur and William. But he had the happy knack of appraising the value of men: and he chose his lieutenants wisely and well. His family life was marked by that laxity which was characteristic of the age. For many years before he went to India, he had lived with a French lady whom he did not marry until 1794: and her five children were therefore illegitimate although they bore his name. One of them, Gerald Wellesley, went out as a writer to Bengal in 1807 and was Resident at Indore from 1818 to 1825, and subsequently Opium Agent in Malwa (5). He retired in 1833 and died in 1836, six years before his father. The second wife of Wellesley, whom he married in 1824, was an American widow, whose sister-in-law Elizabeth Patterson was the wife of Jerome Bonaparte. Mr. Roberts draws a pleasant picture of Wellesley as a father and a brother. The Duke of Wellington was the solitary exception

(4) See the articles by Lt.-Col. Ranking on "The History of the College of Fort William in Bengal: Past and Present, No. 1 in Vol. VII, pp. 1-29 and Vol. XXI, pp. 161-200, No. II in Vol. XXIII, pp. 1-37: No. III in Vol. XXII, pp. 120-158: and No. IV in Vol. XXIII, pp. 84-153.

(5) Gerald Wellesley wrote a set of verses which are inscribed on a masonry slab on the tomb erected in the grounds of the old Residency at Gwalior in memory of Glancer, the favourite dog of Richard Strachey and Resident from 1811 to 1815; see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 28-29.

to the family harmony: but then, as Greville wrote: "the Duke is a very hard man; he takes no notice of any of his family."

We can recommend Mr. Roberts' book most cordially. It is the work of a master of his subject: and deserves to be read from the first page to the last with the utmost care and attention. The frontispiece is taken from the painting by J. Pain Davis in the National Portrait Gallery, and represents him in the prime of life. Thomas Hickey's portrait at Government House, Madras, is a poor performance: and Home's portrait in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is little better. Lawrence's portrait is at Windsor: and there is a fine proof copy of Turner's Mezzotint in the Victoria Memorial Hall. Two other portraits by Home are in the Viceregal collection: both are of historical interest: and one of these is fairly satisfactory. What has happened, we wonder to the picture by Hoppner of the first Lady Wellesley and her two elder boys which Wellesley took out to Calcutta with him and hung on the walls of the new Government House?

The White Mutiny: a Forgotten Episode of the Indian Army: by Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I. (Constable and Co., Ltd. Twelve Shillings and Six Pence net).

The remarkable incident, which forms the subject of Sir Alexander Cardew's book, and which occurred in 1809, forms part primarily of the history of the Madras Presidency: but indirectly it is connected in more than one respect with Bengal. The Governor of Fort Saint George at the time was Sir George Hilario Barlow, a member of the Bengal Civil Service, who had acted as Governor-General in the interregnum between the death of Lord Cornwallis at Ghazipur on October 5, 1804, and the arrival of Lord Minto in September, 1807, and who had received the appointment as compensation for his supersession. Another link with Bengal is supplied by the fact that Lord Minto found it necessary to come to Madras in September, 1809 to take over the conduct of affairs. Moreover, such mutinies on the part of the Company's military officers were no novelty in Bengal. In 1766 Clive had been obliged to take severe measures against those who refused to accept the order of the Court of Directors regarding the abolition of the enhanced allowances, known as double batta. There had been another outbreak of discontent in 1796 which caused Sir John Shore much concern and might have assumed serious proportions if it had not been for the tactful handling of Sir Robert Abercrombey, the Commander-in-Chief (6).

In spite of the ardent advocacy of Sir Alexander Cardew, it must be acknowledged that tact did not characterize Sir George Barlow's handling of the difficulties with which he was confronted. And it must also be said that the conduct of the principal actors on the other side cannot be commended. It is, however, impossible to deny that the grievances of the

(6) See the article by Major V. C. Hodson in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 69-80.

Madras Army were of a substantial character. Sir Alexander Cardew discusses them at length in his second chapter: and it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here. References to them and to the outbreak which they occasioned, may be found also in the Farrington Diary (7). It must suffice to say that there was open mutiny at Masulipatam, Jalna and Seringapatam, accompanied by an engagement at the last-named place between the company's and the King's troops, in which many casualties occurred.

Our present purpose will be served if we indicate some of the interesting glimpses which Sir Alexander Cardew enables us to obtain of the chief personalities concerned in this regrettable episode. Under the orders of Lord Minto, whose decisions were marked by great leniency, twenty-one officers were exempted from the general amnesty. Three were tried by court-martial: Lieut.-Colonel John Bell, of the Artillery, commandant of the fort at Seringapatam, Major Joseph Storey of the 19th Madras Infantry, whose action in putting Colonel Innes, the commandant at Masulipatam, under arrest was the beginning of the mutiny, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Doveton, who had been in command at Jalna. Two battalion commanders of the Seringapatam Garrison, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Munro and Major D. C. Kenny, were also tried by court-martial. All were sentenced to be cashiered, except Doveton who was acquitted, but subsequently dismissed by the Court of Directors. The remaining fifteen elected to be dismissed the service. But the sentence remained in force in four cases only: those of Bell (8), Capt. James Patterson, who seized the Treasury at Coconada, and the two officers, Capt. McIntosh and Capt. Aiskill, who led a detachment from Chitaldrug to join the insurgents at Seringapatam. The others (with the exception of Capt. Turner who died in October 1809) were subsequently reinstated and served the Company with credit and distinction. From the useful table compiled by Sir Alexander Cardew, some curious facts can be gleaned. Captain James Law Lushington (1779-1859) of the 4th Madras Cavalry, who was implicated in the trouble at Jalna, became a General and a G.C.B., a member of Parliament (1825-1832), a Director of the East India Company from 1827 to 1853 and Chairman of the Court in 1838 and again in 1848. Doveton (1783-1847) also rose to the rank of General and received the G. C. B. He has given his name to Doveton House, Nungumbankum, at Madras, where the Gaekwar Malhar Rao of Baroda was confined in 1874, and which is now used as a Government Training College for women. A relative, Capt. John Doveton, who was of mixed parentage, was the second founder of the Calcutta Parental Academy in Free School Street, which thereupon became known as the

(7) Entries of January 24, and August 8, 1810: Vol. VI, pp. 2, 101: quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 62-63. See also the account given in the "Diary" of Colonel Richard Bayley, of H. M. 12th Regiment who was at Seringapatam at the time (Army and Navy Co-operative Society, 1896, pp. 204-219).

(8) Colonel Bayley writes in his Diary (op. cit., p. 214) that "the Army subscribed and made a munificent provision for him during life."

Doveton College. (There used to be an oil-painting of Capt. Doveton in the College Library: where is it now?) Storey became a Lieutenant-Colonel and died in 1818 at Samulcotta in the present Godavari district. Several others received the C.B. in later life and retired as Lieutenant-Colonels. Among them was Capt. Thomas Fiott de Havilland (1775-1865) of the Engineers, who constructed the sea-wall at Madras and designed and built the Cathedral and St. Andrew's Church and Bridge. No better proofs could be adduced of the wisdom with which Lord Minto accomplished his task.

Lieut.-Gen. Hay MacDowall, the Commander-in-Chief, who, according to Lord Minto, "committed open sedition and sent forth an inflammatory appeal from the acts of Government," was the younger brother of Day Hart MacDowall (1753-1809) who came out to Bengal as a writer in 1770, was appointed Collector of Rangpur in 1786, and retired in 1789. He was removed from his post by Barlow on January 31, 1809: but he had already resigned and sailed for Europe in the *Lady Jane Dundas* on January 29. This ship, together with the *Calcutta*, the *Bengal*, and the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*, foundered in a violent gale off the Cape of Good Hope on or about March 16, 1809 (9). With him perished Colonel Capper, his Adjutant-General. On the hill above the town of Matale in Ceylon are the remains of Fort MacDowall, which recalls the period of his service in the island in 1803, when a detachment of a thousand men was massacred at Kandy almost to a man.

Another turbulent officer was Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Arthur St. Leger of the Madras Cavalry, who had served with distinction under Coote, Cornwallis and Arthur Wellesley, but whose temper was such that the Madras Government which seems to have been quite unable to keep him in order, complained to the Court of Directors of "the impunity with which he has been enabled to brave and insult" their authority. The agitation which he set on foot with regard to his own grievances had much to do with the subsequent trouble. Sir Alexander Cardew gives an amazing account of the repeated acts of insubordination which he was allowed to commit.

No less astonishing was the conduct of Sir John Malcolm, who was then a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Madras Army. In Appendix E to his book, Sir Alexander Cardew quotes from the pamphlet published by Malcolm in 1812 and entitled "Observations on the Disturbances in the Madras Army," in which he makes a strong attack on Barlow. Malcolm had been sent by Barlow to Masulipatam to hold an enquiry; but it soon became apparent that his sympathies were entirely with the Army. He went so far as to suggest the issue of a Government order which would have compelled the Governor to reverse all his decisions in the most public manner. Nor was he content with this. Sir Alexander Cardew prints extracts from letters written by him to Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto which are preserved with

(9) A list of passengers on board the four vessels of whom none survived, is given by William Hickey in his *Memoirs* (vol. IV, pp. 477-478).

the Wellesley MSS. at the British Museum. Barlow's recall is declared to be essential: and his unpopularity and incompetence are emphasized.

Nor were the difficulties of the Madras Government confined to those created by disloyal and rebellious officers. Appendix A deals with the extraordinary vagaries of Sir Henry Gwillim, who was appointed in 1801, with Sir Benjamin Sullivan, as a puisne judge on the establishment of the Supreme Court. The story has not, to our knowledge, been previously told; and it is well worth reading. The fame of this fiery Welshman has hitherto been based upon a passage in the letter of Lord Minto, who stayed in Madras on his outward journey in 1807. "To give you an idea of its intensity," he writes in an attempt to convey what prickly heat is like, "Sir Henry Gwillim was discovered by a visitor rolling on his own floor and roaring like a baited bull." We now learn, that whether as the result of prickly heat or not, the learned Judge was the owner of an ungovernable temper. He quarrelled on the Bench with Sir Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice; he denounced the Governor, Lord William Bentinck, in the most violent terms when addressing the Grand Jury: he publicly abused the Advocate-General, Alexander Anstruther (who succeeded Sir James Mackintosh as Recorder of Bombay in 1812 and died at that place in 1819) and told him in open Court that he was a contemptible fellow who deserved to be kicked out of his profession. Eventually the Court of Directors were compelled to take notice of his intemperate conduct and presented a petition to the Crown. Gwillim was recalled and sailed in October 1808, after a final onslaught on the government in his last charge to the Grand Jury. He was removed from office in April 1810, but survived until 1837. Sir Alexander Cardew observes that his outrageous behaviour and defiance of the executive produced the worst possible effect upon an atmosphere which was already full of explosive matter.

The character of Sir George Barlow is one of those in the modern history of India which is usually associated with failure. Sir Alexander Cardew makes a gallant attempt to rehabilitate him: but his narrative leaves us under the distinct impression that the real pacificator was Lord Minto who spent fourteen months in Madras, and that, had it not been for his intervention, matters would have gone from bad to worse.

Sir Alexander Cardew presents his readers with four excellent portraits: of Major-General St. Leger, of General Hay MacDowall (from the painting by Raeburn) of Sir George Barlow (from a pleasing miniature in the possession of the present baronet, Sir Hilario Barlow) and Sir John Malcolm (from the well-known picture at the Oriental Club in London). The portrait of Barlow is far more attractive than the painting by Home in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, or the large portrait painted by George Watson, P.R.S.A. in 1826 and presented in 1882 to Government House, Madras, by Barlow's grandson, Sir Richard Wellesley Barlow, Bart., of the Madras Civil Service. In both the latter cases an impression of weakness is strongly conveyed by the features.

History of the Assam Rifles; by Colonel Leslie Waterfield Shakespear, C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E. (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Thirty Shillings).

The five battalions of Assam Rifles, which are now linked with the different groups of Gurkha regiments in the Indian Army, are the lineal descendants of the military police which have for the last hundred years kept watch and ward over the north-east frontier. Col. Shakespear, who commanded the Naga Hills battalion from 1897 to 1902, and acted later on as Deputy Inspector-General, is well fitted to write their history. His literary style is not always beyond criticism: but his industry is undeniable. He has obtained his information from a mass of documents and books which many an enquirer would never have thought of searching. For example, he tells us that the best account of the Abor expedition of 1859 is to be found in the *History of the Indian Navy*. There is a good bibliography: the maps are admirable, and the numerous illustrations give an excellent idea of the difficulties under which peace has been secured and maintained. From a brief reference on page 64, we learn that the Tongal General, who was an old man when he was hanged with the Senapati at Manipur in 1891 for his complicity in the murder of Mr. Quinton and his party, is believed to have been a sepoy in the 34th Bengal Infantry, which mutinied at Chittagong in November 1857 and after being twice defeated by the Sylhet Light Infantry (now the 1st-18th Gurkha Rifles) fled into the hills which border on the Manipur State. Lord Roberts, as is well known took part in the Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872: but it is not so well known that he named his favourite charger Vonolel after one of the Chiefs. Mary Winchester, whose father was killed in the raid on the Alexandrapur tea-garden (which was one of the causes of the Expedition) and who was carried off to a Lushai village and rescued during the operations, was alive in England some twenty years ago.

Beginnings of Vijayanagara History; by Revd. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Bombay, Indian Historical Research Institute, 1929.

This volume published in the series of Studies in Indian History by the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, forms an interesting little study in methods of exact historical criticism applied to literary tradition. It comprises two lectures delivered at the University of Mysore last year the object of which is to build up the history of the early Vijayanagar dynasties from the evidence of inscriptions rather than of literary records, a method in keeping with the modern spirit of research into antiquarian history. Little is left of the legendary stories of the foundation of the origin of the city of Vijayanagar and Madhava Vidyaramya, brother of the commentator Sayana joins company with Lud and Romulus in the limbo where abide the legendary founders of imperial cities. May Job Charnock alone triumphantly remain for all time outside its portals.

The Editor's Note Book.

WE are glad to be able to announce that the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall are arranging the purchase of the famous portrait group by Zoffany of "Claude Martin and His Friends," of which we gave an illustration and full description in our last number (p. 88). Details of its history are now available and these are of the utmost interest. Viscount Bridgeman of Leigh, the present owner, who is better known as the Right Hon. William Clive Bridgeman, First Lord of the Admiralty from 1924 to 1929, is the grandson of William Clive, the brother of the Baron of Plassey: and the picture came to him from his uncle Mr. Robert Henry Clive (1766-1867), the son of William Clive, and a member of the Madras Civil Service from 1816 to 1838. Mr. Clive received the picture about the year 1850 in satisfaction of a debt from Lieut.-Colonel (then Captain) Henry Strachey (1816-1912) the elder brother of General Sir Richard Strachey (1817-1908) and Sir John Strachey (1823-1907). The father of these Stracheys was Edward Strachey (1774-1832), who was the second son of Sir Henry Strachey, the first baronet, Lord Clive's private Secretary in Bengal. Edward Strachey came out to Bengal as a writer in 1792 and was "out of the service" in 1815. As he was second assistant to the Resident at Lucknow from 1797 to 1801, he must have come into personal contact with Claude Martin, who died at Lucknow on October 13, 1800. The picture was, no doubt, prominently displayed in Martin's house: and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that Edward Strachey acquired it at the sale of Martin's effects after his death. We know that no less than nineteen paintings by Zoffany, which belonged to Martin, were sold at Calcutta by Quieros the auctioneer, who was also his executor, on December 29, 1801.

A LIST of these nineteen pictures may be found in the Bengal Inventories preserved at the India Office (1801-1802-1803, Range I, Vols. 24, 26, 28): and eighteen of them are described in detail. No. 12 is entered as "Group of persons: names not given": and it is reasonable to suppose that this is the group representing Martin, Polier, and Wombwell, which is not otherwise included. The list is as follows:

1. Portrait of Mirza Jewaun Bakht, the Shazada. (Eldest son of the Emperor, Shah Alam, who was living at Lucknow).
2. Portrait of Asof-ud-Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude.

Claude Martin's
Paintings by
Zoffany.

3. Full-length portrait of Mrs. Bruere. [Wife of William Bruere, Secretary to the Council at Fort William from 1781 to 1787; as Nancy Sadlier a noted Calcutta beauty, and one of "The Five Girls who grace India's soil," mentioned in Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*].
4. Group of Mrs. Bruere's children with a dog. [Now believed to be in the collection of Mr. William Ashel.]
5. Colonel Martin on horseback.
6. Sir Eyre Coote. [Bought by George Cruttenden, the brother-in-law of "Bob" Pott, and used by Thomas Hickey in 1812 for his restoration of Robert Home's portrait of Coote which was then in the Exchange at Madras].
7. Sir E. Coote and Col. Martin together.
8. General Martin's House: by Thomas Daniell and Zoffany.
9. Hasan Raza Khan [query: at the India Office].
10. Nagaphon Ghut [sic].
11. Sketch for No. 7.
12. Group of Persons: names not given.
13. A Fakir.
14. An Elephant.
15. Asaf-ud-Dowlah. [query: at the India Office].
16. and 17. Portraits of Hasan Reza Khan.
18. A sketch of Sir E. Coote.
19. Col. Polier, Martin, and "a native planter."

In addition, the inventory mentions: seven sketches, various: 13 sketches various: 1 small sketch: 24 sketches.

TWO other oil-paintings have been added to the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The first of these was sold at Sotheby's under the vague description of "marine scene with building and figures," and no artist's name was disclosed. It has been identified as the picture exhibited by William Daniell, R.A., at the Royal Academy in 1802 under the title of "Hindu Temple at Ramiseram near Cape Comorin, with the approach of the north-east monsoon." The building is the same as the "Chouttry at Ramiseram," of which an engraving is given after a drawing by William Daniell in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 55). The surroundings are exactly the same: except that a storm is raging and a party of boatmen are endeavouring to land. The other picture represents a large cannon which is being inspected by two English officers in uniform. In the background is a fortress with lofty walls, which is thought to be Bhurtpore. As Bhurtpore was stormed by the troops under Lord Combermere in January 1826, and the initials "R.S. 1826-1836" are plainly visible in the left hand corner of the canvas, the attribution is not unlikely: but enquiries are being made of the Political Agent at Bhurtpore, to whom a photograph of the picture has been sent. It has not been possible to discover the personality of R.S., he was probably a British officer who was present at the siege and capture of the fortress.

IT transpires from an interesting article on "The House of Palmer," which is contributed by Brigadier-General R. G. Burton to the October number of the *India Monthly Magazine* that Mr. Edward Palmer, the proprietor of Veeraswamy's, the well-known Indian restaurant in Regent Street (London), is a great-nephew of John Palmer, the "Prince of Merchants," whose bust by Chantrey stands in the lower lobby of the Calcutta Town Hall. Mr. Palmer's father was John Palmer's half brother, William Palmer, the Hyderabad banker, who was known as "King" Palmer, and whose partner was Sir William Rumbold, the third baronet. Rumbold died in 1833 and he and his brother George are buried in the Residency cemetery at Chadarghat: a house in Hyderabad still goes by the name of Rumbold's Kothi. Palmer died in 1867, and his tomb, built in Muhammadan fashion, is on the roadside not far from the premises of the Imperial Bank of India. His daughter married Colonel Philip Meadows Taylor, the author of the *Confessions of a Thug*, and was therefore the aunt of Mr. Edward Palmer. There is at the India Office in the room of the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State an unfinished oil-painting, attributed to Zoffany, and purchased from a member of the family, in which General William Palmer, once Military Secretary to Hastings, is represented with his wife and children. He is seated in the centre and is leaning towards his wife Bibi Faiz Bakhsh, who was a Begum of the Oudh royal family. She is nursing their youngest son Hastings in her lap. On her left is "King" Palmer who is holding the hand of an ayah: and on her right is their daughter Mary who married Lieut. James Arrow, of the Bengal Army, at Berhampore in 1806. Behind Mary Palmer is an Indian attendant, and behind her again, and on the right of the General, is the Begum's sister. General Burton is in error in supposing that John Palmer is included in the group; he was born in 1767 and was the son of an earlier wife. William Palmer was born in 1782 and Hastings Palmer in 1785: and as both are represented as very young children, the dates will correspond with the probable date of the picture, which is put at 1786. Further information regarding the Palmers may be found in Vol. XXXIV of *Bengal: Past and Present* (pp. 72-74 and pp. 146-147).

PARTICULARS regarding a little-known portrait of Warren Hastings are given by Mr. Stephen Wheeler in an interesting article which was published in the *Pioneer* on November 29, 1920. It is a pencil sketch drawn from life by the daughter of Major John Scott-Waring, the indefatigable but not always discreet agent of Hastings whose best piece of work was the selection of the motto *Mens aequa in arduis* which may still be seen on the portrait by Devis at Delhi. Scott-Waring's first wife Eliza or Elizabeth was a daughter of Surgeon-General Blackery (or Blackrie) who had fought at Culloden for the Pretender and later on in life had the honour of prescribing for the younger Pitt. They had three children, a son named Edward Warren Hastings, and two daughters Anna Maria

A Little-known
Portrait of Warren
Hastings.

and Eliza Sophia. Eliza married the Rev. G. S. Faber, and their son was the theologian and hymn-writer of that name. Anna Maria was the artist who drew the pencil sketch. She married on February 9, 1796, John Reade of Ipsden House in Oxfordshire and died on August 19, 1863, at the age of ninety. In a letter written to his "dearest Marian" from Calcutta on December 8, 1780, Hastings says: "I am just returned from a visit to Mrs. Scott. Scott is arrived, and their daughter, a beautiful child." This was Anna Maria who was born at Dinapore on July 7, 1773. She met her husband who was then at Oriel College, at a dance at Oxford and they were married not long afterwards at Bromley where her mother is buried under an elaborate monument. The sketch, which is about seven inches by ten in size, shows the bust of Hastings with his head turned slightly to the right; he is bald with the exception of longish hair on either side, and the shoulders are draped in some sort of classical robe. The present owner of this interesting drawing is Mr. E. Reade of Streatham, who is a great grandson of Mrs. Reade. It is not known whether she made the sketch before or after her marriage; but Mr. Reade owns in addition a miniature portrait of Hastings by Ozias Humphry, which was certainly a wedding present, and also a copy of the published report of the trial, with the following autograph inscription on the fly-leaf: "This book is presented to Mrs. Reade by her old and affectionate friend, Warren Hastings."

IN the article on Ozias Humphry ("An Artist and His Fees") which was published in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1927 (Vol. XXXIV, p. 17) men-

Ozias Humphry's
Miniature of
Hastings.

tion is made of an oval miniature of Hastings by Humphry ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches) which is in the collection of Mr. F. Hampden Turner of Church Hill House, Brenchley, Kent. There is a sketch for it in the Victoria and Albert Museum and an engraving by William Greatbach forms one of the plates in Bentley's Miscellany for 1841. Mr. Wheeler takes the view that the miniature which was given to Mrs. Reade as a wedding gift, was original and was bought by Hastings; and that the one in the Turner collection which bears a close resemblance to it, was a replica for which Humphry failed to find a purchaser until he disposed of it with several other works of his to Charles Hampden Turner (1772-1856), the ancestor of the present owner. The Reade miniature seems to have escaped the notice of Dr. G. C. Williamson, and appears to be as little known as the pencil sketch by Mrs. Reade. Charles Hampden Turner of Rooksnest, Godstone, Surrey, has already figured in these pages (Vol. XXXV, p. 181) in connexion with the two oil-paintings by Thomas Daniell, R.A. which were presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall in 1928 by the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan. He was a partner with Sir Robert Wigram, Sir John Woolmore and William Cotton (who became Governor of the Bank of England and was the father of Lord Justice Cotton) in the cable-manufacturing firm of Huddart and Co., and owned or partly owned several Indian men. No less than thirty-one oil-paintings by Thomas and William Daniell were commissioned or bought by him: but their existence

was unsuspected until they were sold by auction in January 1928 by order of his great grandson and twenty-one of them were bought by the Maharaja.

ANNA MARIA READE was a remarkable woman in many ways. She was an accomplished musician as well as an artist, and was a pupil of Handel. She was not only the mother of Charles Reade the novelist (1814-1884) but four of her seven sons went out to India in the service of John Company. The eldest John Thurlow Reade, who was a godson of the Lord Chancellor, was born in 1797 and received a Bengal writership in 1814. He died in 1827 at Saharanpur where he was magistrate and collector. It is said that on the day of his death his ghost was seen by his mother who was so impressed that she arranged for a funeral service. The second son, George Edward Reade, went to Madras and died at Calicut on December 2, 1816, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the first year of his service. Henry Jonathan, the third son who was born in 1801, likewise died young in India. He obtained a military cadetship and was attached to the 4th Bengal Cavalry. In 1821 the regiment formed part of the force sent to support Zalim Singh, the Machiavelli of Rajputana, against the Maharao of Kotah: and Reade and a fellow-officer John Clark, the brother of Sir George Russell Clark, fell in the battle of Mangrol on October 1.

There is an account of the engagement in Tod's Rajasthan (Oxford edition, 1920, Vol. III, p. 1603), but the names are wrongly given as "Clark" and "Reade" in the footnote, and the mistake has been over-looked by Mr. William Crooke, the latest editor. The fourth of the sons who went to India was Edward Anderton Reade, C.B. (1807-1886), who served in Bengal from 1826 to 1860, and was John Russell Colvin's ablest Lieutenant at Agra in 1857. The miniature of Hastings is in the possession of his grandson, whose father, Mr. Arthur E. Reade, of the Indian Telegraph Department, was a noted sportsman in his day.

FEW people, we imagine, are aware than an Indian well may be seen in the Oxfordshire hamlet of Stoke Row, which adjoins the village of Ipsden, and that it was the gift of a Maharaja of Benares. It was placed there through the instrumentality of Mr. E. A. Reade. When Mr. Reade was Commissioner of the Benares division, he formed a close friendship with Maharaja Isri Prasad Singh, and when he retired and settled at Ipsden, the Maharaja expressed his wish to be associated with the locality. Mr. Reade suggested a well at Stoke Row, and the first turf was cut on the wedding day of King Edward, then Prince of Wales (March 10, 1863). The well is surmounted by an elephant standing under a black dome upon which appears the fish, the crest of the Benares Raj, and the words: "The Maharaja of Benares gave this well in 1863." The Maharaja also built a house for the "well warden," standing in an orchard of cherry trees to which Mr. Reade gave the name "Isri Bagh": and in the garden is a fish pond in the shape of a fish.

A Maharaja's
Gift to an Oxford-
shire Village.

IN the interesting note on "The Standards and Colours of the Old Bengal Army," which appeared in our last issue (pp. 15-18) Captain Bullock states, quite accurately, that of the 74 regiments of the Army. line in 1857, eleven, which he names, survived the post-Mutiny re-organization. But mention should also be made of the 66th Bengal Infantry, which remained loyal. Originally raised at Subathu in 1815, and composed principally of the Gurkhas who took service with the Company after the fall of Malaun, it was known until 1850 as the Nusseeree Battalion. In January 1850 the old 60th Bengal Infantry when on its way from Lucknow to the Punjab, halted at Amritsar, where they refused their pay and tried to shut the gates of the Govindgarh fort. Serious trouble was prevented by the accidental presence of a cavalry regiment which was marching down from the Punjab. Sir Charles Napier ordered that the regiment should be sent to Umballa and there struck off the roles, and that the colours should be handed over to the Nasiri Gurkha Battalion which was in future to be called the 66th or Gurkha Battalion which was in future to be called the 66th or Gurkha Regiment. Hence it comes about that the regiment, which is now known as the 1st Battalion of the 1st Gurkha Rifles (The Malaun Regiment) includes "Bhurtpore," "Aliwal" and "Sobraon" among the battle-honours on its colours.

TWO composite regiments were formed after the Mutiny from the faithful remnants of several Bengal regiments. The "loyal Poorbeah Regiment" which was numbered as the 21st B. N. I. in 1861. The "Loyal Poorbeahs" and "The Lucknow Regiment." was composed of the loyal sepoys of the old 3rd, 36th, and 61st Regiments: it became a class regiment of Mussalman Rajputs in 1903 under the name of the 17th Infantry (the loyal Regiment) and was disbanded in 1922. The Lucknow Regiment was formed at Cawnpore in 1857 after the relief of the Lucknow Residency by Colonel H. Palmer, who had commanded the outpost at the Machhi Bhawan, and was made up of the fragments of the 13th, 48th, and 71st Regiments, who had played so gallant a part during the siege. In 1897 it was re-christened the 16th Rajputs and is now the 10th Battalion of the 7th Rajput Regiment.

IN the year 1810 the firm of Macintyre and Co. was founded in Calcutta by Donald Mackintyre: and on December 18, 1819 he married also Links with the at Calcutta Margaret McKenzie of the Kincaid family. Past. Their daughter, Mrs. Mary Isabella Travers, entered on her hundred and first year on September 7. Her connexions with the Indian services are numerous. Three of her mother's brothers were Indian army officers: and her mother's sister Mary married in 1813 Major-General Sir Donald MacLeod (D. 1843), also of the Bengal Army. Mrs. Traver's husband, Colonel James Travers, was a Bengal cadet of 1838. In July 1857 he was at Indore when the Residency was attacked by Holkar's troops and won

the V. C. by charging their guns at the head of only five men. Major-General Donald Macintyre, Mrs. Travers' brother, won the V. C. in the Lushai expedition of 1871-1872: and their sister was the wife of Dr. Brydon, the sole survivor of the retreat from Kabul in 1842. Both the Brydons went through the siege of the Lucknow Residency.

SUBADAR ISHAR SINGH, V.C., of the 28th Punjabis (now the 4th battalion of the 15th Punjab Regiment), who won the Cross in Waziristan in 1921, represented the Indian holders of the Victoria Cross at the dinner in London on November 9 which was organized by the British Legion and at which the Prince of Wales presided. He is the youngest V. C. and the latest recipient of the decoration. The senior survivors are Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Hart, who won the Cross in 1879 in the second Bazar Valley expedition against the Zakka Khel Afridis, and two of the group of eleven who received the decoration for the defence of Rorke's Drift in the same year: Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Reynolds of the Army Medical Department, who is 85, and Private John Williams of the 24th Regiment (South Wales Borderers) who is 72. Sir Reginald Hart is 81. There is no living holder of the Cross who won it in the Crimean War or the Indian Mutiny. The last Crimean V. C. was Surgeon W. H. T. Sylvester, who died in 1920, and the last Mutiny V. C. was Colonel Sir Edward Thackeray, who died in 1927.

THE number of Mutiny veterans is rapidly diminishing: and it is more than probable that Major-General William Astell Franks, who died at Southampton on October 13 in his ninety-second year, was among the very last survivors. He was the son of Mr. William Franks, of the India House in Leadenhall Street, and obtained a cadetship in the Bengal Army in 1855 on the nomination of Mr. John Harvey Astell who was a Director of the East India Company from 1857 to 1858. (The statement made in the obituary notice in *The Times* that he was nominated by his god-father Mr. William Astell, M.P., cannot be correct, for that gentleman who was a Director from 1807 to 1845 and was Chairman of the Court in 1824, 1828, and 1830, died in March 1847). He made his way to India from Southampton to Egypt and across the desert overland route to Suez, whence he proceeded by paddle-steamer. When the Mutiny broke out, he was at Nowgong in Central India with his regiment the 12th Bengal Infantry: and was among those who escaped to Banda. There is a graphic account of the adventures of the party in the third volume of Sir George Forrest's *History of the Indian Mutiny* (pp. 16-22). In the course of a scuffle Franks was robbed of a signet ring which had been given to him by his father: it was restored to him some years later, when it was found in the palace of the Nawab at Banda. Arriving eventually at Mirzapur, he accompanied Peel's Naval Brigade to Allahabad and Cawnpore. He

A Mutiny Veteran.

subsequently took part in the pursuit north of Lucknow of Firoz Shah, a member of the Delhi family, who eventually took refuge in the Tonk State and disappeared.

OPPOSITE the police station at Halia, in the Mirzapur district, there stands a tomb with an inscription roughly cut on a large flat slab about 7½ feet high and 4 feet broad. It bears the names of a number of sepoy of the 2nd Battalion of the 21st Bengal Infantry who "fell courageously assaulting Boparra Ghurry in Burdea, April A.D. 1811, which is now destroyed and levelled with the ground." The inscription also states that "under the auspices of Lord Minto, Governor-General of India and General Hewett, Comdr.-in-chief and Vice-President, a passage was made through the Kiraha Pass of vast height, two miles in extent, into Burdea for 18 pounders, etc., by Lt.-Col. J. Tetley, Comdg. the 2nd Batt. 21st Native Infantry, aided by the great exertions of his gallant and willing corps." The fort of Bhopari was attacked and captured in the course of an expedition undertaken at the instance of Lalla Naik, a Mirzapur merchant, to punish the Rewah highway men who plundered the conveys of merchandise.

MAJOR HODSON sends an interesting note regarding Colonel Tetley, who in addition to being an art collector, was related by marriage to the family of David Garrick. Colonel James Tetley, after whom the 38th Bengal Infantry, which mutinied at Delhi on May 11, 1857, was known as "Bullumteer Tittleelee-ki-Pultan," died at Allahabad on November 11, 1820. Leaving three natural children by Chaund Bibi and a sister Elizabeth who married as his second wife George Garrick, the youngest brother of the great actor. By his will he bequeathed to "H. E. the Nawaub Vizier of Oude, Ruffut-ul Dowlat Ruffeeull Moolug, Gazee oo Deen Hyder Cawn, Bahadur, Shamæt Jung, the two Oyl Paintings, before mentioned and reserved, by Angelica Kauffmann, on Copper, as a Small Mark of the great sense I entertain of His Excellency's condescending kindness and Friendship." The names of the paintings are given elsewhere in the will: "Nymphs waking of Love" [sic] and "A Sacrifice to Nature." Are they still at Lucknow?

In the course of an article in the *Statesman* of August 1, Sir Archibald Hurd mentions that he has come into possession of a "Prospectus for establishing by means of Steam Navigation a Communication with Calcutta and the East Indies generally, via the Mediterranean, Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea; the voyage Out and Home to be completed within 120 days." This pamphlet which was printed in 1823 by B. Bensley, of Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London, is of historical importance as showing that the first advocate of the Red Sea—Suez route was not Captain Thomas Waghorn, but Captain James Henry

The Pioneer of
Steam Communi-
cation with India.

Johnson (whom Sir Archibald Hurd calls Johnston). Johnson had fought at Trafalgar and became in later days Controller of the steam department of the East India Company: he died at sea off the Cape on May 5, 1851, and is commemorated by a tablet in St. Stephen's Church, Calcutta. From the summary of the pamphlet which Sir Archibald Hurd supplies, we learn that Johnson proposed three or four vessels of 400 tons each and 100 horsepower for the service on either side of the Isthmus of Suez, which would be crossed on camels. The first part of the voyage from Plymouth to Gibraltar and thence to Malta and El Arish would occupy nineteen days. The 120 miles across the Isthmus would be covered in 6 days. From Suez the journey by sea would be continued by way of Mocha (or Perim), Socotra, Cochin, Trincomalee, Madras and Calcutta, and would be accomplished in 32 days: making a total of 7,920 miles by sea in 57 days. The fare per passenger was fixed at £200, that being "the lowest usually paid for an inferior accommodation on board a ship trading to India": but the opinion is expressed that after one or two voyages, the sum might be reduced to £150. Johnson, as we have already mentioned in these pages (Vol. XXXV, p. 185) did not carry his idea into execution, but made the first voyage by steam to Calcutta from Falmouth round the Cape in the *Enterprise* in 1825. The first voyage from Bombay to Suez was made by the *Hugh Lindsay* of 411 tons in 1830.

CALCUTTA visitors to Kandy will, if they find their way to the old Garrison Cemetery, observe there a conspicuous monument in the form of a broken fluted column of masonry, which bears on a marble tablet the name of Sir John D'Oyly Baronet, "Resident of the Kandyan Provinces and one of His Majesty's Council of this island," who died in 1824, at the age of forty-nine. They must not, however, be misled. The person commemorated is not Sir John Hardley D'Oyly, sixth Baronet of Shottisham in the county of Norfolk, the friend of Warren Hastings: he died in Calcutta on January 5, 1818, at the age of sixty-four and is buried in the South Park Street cemetery. The Ceylon D'Oyly, who was created a Baronet in 1821 and died without issue, spent the whole of his official life in the island, and never visited England. Sir James Mackintosh has left a curious account of him (Life, Vol. II, p. 6):—

He is the one Cingalese Scholar in the Ceylon Civil Service, and like many Orientalists has almost become a native in his habits of life. He lives on a plantain, invites nobody to his house, and does not dine abroad once a year; but he is generally esteemed and seems an amiable and honourable, although uncouth man.

He was the second son of the Rev. Matthew D'Oyly, Archdeacon of Lewes, and his nephew D'Oyly, who died in 1908, was in the Bombay Civil Service from 1848 to 1875.

AN INTERESTING connexion may perhaps be traced between the family of Baron Imhoff, the first husband of Mrs. Warren Hastings, and Fort Gustavus, at Chinsurah, which was, according to Stavorinus, who visited the place in 1769-70, built by the Dutch in the year 1656 "as appears by the date over the landgate."

Fort Gustavus at Chinsurah and the Imhoff Family.

A certain Gustaaf Willam Van Imhoff, who was born in 1705, was Governor of Ceylon under the Dutch in 1736 and Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1740. This was of course, a century after the building of Fort Gustavus if Stavorinus' account is to be accepted, but it is quite possible that it may have been re-named after him. His relationship to Carl von Imhoff is mentioned by Sir Charles Lawson in his "Private life of Warren Hastings": where he says (p. 49) that he was the third son of Baron Christopher Imhoff and a near kinsman of Baron Gustave Imhoff "who was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1740, and in whose honour a medal" which was bequeathed to Sir Charles Imhoff, "was struck. Nothing now remains of Fort Gustavus except a stone slab which was probably taken from the north gate and has been placed on the fine marble staircase of the Dutch Director's house, now occupied by the Commissioner of the Burdwan division. It is inscribed with the monogram V. O. C. which denotes Vereenig de Oostindische Companie, and the date 1687. The stone with the date 1656, to which Stavorinus refers, has disappeared; and so has another stone mentioned by Mr. George Toynbee in his excellent "Sketch of the administration of the Hooghly district," which bore the date 1692 and is said to have been affixed to the southern gate of Fort Gustavus, leading to the Company's garden. The suggestion which has been made is at any rate an attractive one, and may be allowed to hold the field until some one produces another Dutch East Indian worthy with the christian name of Gustaaf.

THE modern church of St. James, in the Lower Circular Road, is not the original Calcutta church of that name. Members of the Calcutta Historical Society come and go: and early volumes of *Bengal: Past and Present* are not always available. It may therefore be useful to recall that the original Church was situated to the south of the old Madrasa building, in Boitakhana (Bow Bazar Street) which is now occupied by the Scottish Zenana Mission. Its exact location was thus described by the late Mr. E. W. Madge in an article in the second volume of this review (p. 145):

Old St. James's Church, Calcutta.

Proceed down Bow Bazar towards Sealdah and you will, on reaching Amherst Street (which is on the left hand), find opposite it, on the right, a wide lane running southward, which was formerly called St. James's Street and is now named Nebutala Lane ("the place of limes"). A few paces down this lane is St. James's Square, again on the left. Enclosed by the sides of the quadrangle is a range of road side shops, among which, to the south

of one occupied by a *modi* (grain-dealer), stands a tottering gate-pillar with the crumbling fragment of a wall behind. This is all that remains of old St. James's Church.

The Church was consecrated by Bishop Heber on November 11, 1823, and the sermon was preached by the first Minister, the Rev. J. H. Hawtayne, from a text which, according to *John Bull* (the *Englishman* of the day) was taken from the 21st chapter of Genesis, and opens with the equivocal words: "And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place." Owing to the fact that it was erected on the site of the "choked" Puddopukur tank, it began to subside: and the beams in addition were attacked by white ants. It had already been declared to be unsafe when on the morning of Sunday, August 22, 1858, the roof fell in, as the congregation were assembling in the school-room in the church compound. It was in this church that a young civilian of the name of Charles Trevelyan was married in December 1834 to Hannah More Macaulay, the sister of Lord Macaulay: and here also that two of their daughters were baptized, of whom the younger died in infancy in 1837 and is buried in the North Park Street cemetery, and the elder became the wife of the first Viscount Knutsford. The modern church of St. James was consecrated by Bishop Cotton on July 25, 1864.

AMONG the latest additions to the National Portrait Gallery in London is a portrait of the Right Hon. James Wilson, Financial Secretary to the Treasury from 1853 to 1858, who died in Calcutta on August 11, 1860, nine months after he had assumed the office of Finance Member of the Supreme Council. The picture was presented in April 1928 by his daughter, Mrs. Russell Barrington and is signed and dated "Sir John Watson Gordon, R.A. and P.R.S.A. Pinxt. 1858." The canvas is a large one (50 inches by 40 inches); and the figure is three-quarter length, seated, slightly to the right, the hands together on the knees, and the legs crossed. The statue of Wilson by Sir John Steell, which has taken the place of the effigy of Lord Hastings in the portico of the Dalhousie Institute, was originally inside the building. There is also a bust in the National Gallery at Edinburgh and a portrait in the Town Hall at Hawick where it hangs in company with the full-length portrait by Chinnery of the first Lord Minto, which was engraved in mezzotint by Charles Turner in 1815.

SIR RICHARD BURN has drawn our attention to an interesting oil-painting in the possession of Mrs. Leathes, of Warborough, near Oxford, which is connected with the Bagshaw family, once well known in Calcutta. It has descended to her from Miss Mary Bagshaw, who died in 1898 at the age of 80 or 90, and was the daughter of one Robert Bagshaw "of Calcutta," who may have been the founder of the firm of Bagshaw and Co. of Calcutta, which (as related on an earlier page) provided a Sheriff of Calcutta in 1843 in the

A Picture for
Identification.

person of Mr. W. C. Braddon. Another Sheriff was Stephen Bagshaw, an attorney, who served the office in 1784 and died in Calcutta in 1786: and there was a Captain Robert Morris Bagshaw (1769-1807) of the Bengal Army who was a contemporary of his: he married Sarah Hope at Calcutta in 1795 and died at Karnal in 1807. The subject of the picture may be an incident during Stephen Bagshaw's term of office, for it represents the visit of an Indian of distinction to a European of position, who may well be the Sheriff of Calcutta. The centre of the canvas is occupied by a large two-storied house. Some distances at the back and on the right is a large river on which can be seen a schooner with all sails set. In the foreground is an Indian of rank who is approaching a palankeen: he is accompanied by a servant who is holding an umbrella over his head, and by three other attendants. He has evidently just concluded a ceremonial visit: for on the steps of the house are a European in mufti and a lady: and below them are four *chobdars* with red *pagris* and *kamarbands*, and carrying silver staves. The European gentleman is bare-headed and wears a long dress coat, cherry-coloured knee-breeches, and black stockings. The lady is in white. A curricie drawn by two ponies stands close to the steps. In the upper storey of the house are an English officer in scarlet uniform, a European in mufti with a shovel hat, and some servants. A coat of arms appears to be carved on the pediment. The name of the artist cannot be ascertained.

THE "Memories of the Extraordinary Military Career" of John Shipp are well known. He enlisted at the age of thirteen in H. M. 22nd Foot in 1797 and went to India where he served at the capture of Deeg in 1803 and before Bhurtpore in 1805. He won a commission in the 76th Foot for bravery in the field but sold out in 1808 to pay his debts. Re-enlisting in the 24th Light Dragoons, he returned to India and again won a commission in the 87th Foot in 1815. In 1823 he was discharged from the service by court-martial, received a pension from the East India Company in 1826, and became master of the workhouse at Liverpool where he died in 1834. All this is set out in the Memoirs: but he does not mention the fact that he was appointed to a Bengal Infantry cadetship in 1809. Major Hodson has discovered his name among the cadets for Bengal in the East India Register for August 15, 1809, and also the following entries in the Court Minutes:

January 25, 1809.—The memorial of John Shipp, late Lt. of H. M. 76th Hindoostain [*sic*] Regt., setting forth his very particular services in India and praying that on account thereof he may be granted the appointment of a cadet in the Coy.'s service.

February 17, 1809.—Resolved that Mr. John Shipp, late Lieut. in H.M. 76th Regt. of Foot, be, on account of his Singular Bravery and peculiar circumstances, appointed a cadet of Infantry on the Bengal Establishment.

The date of these entries (writes Major Hodson) fits in with the account of his movements which is given by Shipp in his autobiography, but it is strange

that he should omit all reference to the fact. Major Hodson has also sent us the entries relating to the pension:—

January 24, 1826.—Resolved that adverting to the circumstances of the case of Lt. John Shipp, late of H.M. 87th Foot, to the conspicuous gallantry displayed him on many occasions, and to the wounds received by him in the course of his service in India, he be granted a pension from the Coy. of £50 (fifty pounds) per annum, to commence from Christmas last.

February 1, 1826.—Lt. John Shipp, of H.M. 87th Regt., dated 30th ult., returning his grateful acknowledgment to the Court for the pension of £50 p.a., which has recently been granted to him.

THE Calcutta Historical Society has suffered a grievous loss by the death on November 12, at the age of sixty-nine, of Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, K.C.I.E., of Kasimbazar. The Maharaja was descended through his mother from Krishna Kanta Nandi, the famous "Contoo Bobboo," whose name is so closely connected with that of Warren Hastings: and succeeded his aunt, Maharani Surnomoyi, C.I., in the Kasimbazar Raj estates in 1897. Of his beneficent activities in every phase of public life in Bengal this is not the place to speak. The Calcutta Historical Society will always remember him as one of their most distinguished and devoted members. He was one of the Vice-Patrons of the Society, and never failed to offer the most generous hospitality whenever an excursion was made to Murshidabad. There is at the Kasimbazar Rajbari a most interesting relic of Warren Hastings' memorable visit to Benares in 1780. Kanta Baboo accompanied the Governor General: and the curious carved pillars and arches which are to be seen in the Palace, were brought by him from Chait Singh's house. The headship of the historic house of Kasimbazar now devolves upon the Maharaja's son, Maharajkumar Sris Chandra Nandi, M.L.C.

WE regret also to record the death on November 6 of Mr. F. Harrington, the Curator of the Victoria Memorial Hall. The Calcutta Historical Society is much indebted to him for the many excellent photographs of pictures and engravings in the collection which he was always ready to supply for reproduction in *Bengal: Past and Present*. He was not only an expert photographer but a skilled restorer of pictures. The magnificent painting by Verestchagin which represents the state entry of the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) into Jaipur in 1876 was most ingeniously and effectively repaired by him: it arrived from the United States, where it was purchased by H. H. the late Maharaja of Jaipur, in a badly damaged condition but so cleverly was the work executed by Mr. Harrington that it is impossible to discover where he applied his talent. We have in mind also an engraving by F. C. Lewis, senior, of the late Raja of Puddukottai (who died in 1886); owing to

careless unpacking, it suffered such serious injury that it appeared to be utterly ruined, but it was pieced together with such success that the repairs equally defy detection. Mr. Harrington had been in failing health for some time past and was due to retire on pension at the end of the year. He will be succeeded by Mr. Percy Brown who was until 1927 Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, and acted for some time as Art Adviser to the Trustees. Mr. Brown, we are glad to announce, is joining the Calcutta Historical Society: and the close association with the Victoria Memorial Hall collection, to which the Society has made many presentations, will thus be maintained.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Henry Beveridge was never associated directly with the Calcutta Historical Society, he was the author of important contributions to the History of Bengal: and was one of the last of the members of the Indian Civil Service who remembered the rule of John Company. In announcing his death on November 8 the age of 92, the "*Times*" recalls that he headed the list at the third competitive Examination in 1857, and came out to Calcutta in a sailing ship by way of the Cape of Good Hope. His well-known "*History of Backergunge*" was published in 1876: and this was followed in 1886 by "*The Trial of Nanda Kumar*" in which he sought to reply to Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's defence of Warren Hastings and Impey. After his retirement in 1893, he brought out a translation from the Persian of the *Akbarnama* of the Fazl, and an annotated translation of the *Memoirs of Jahangir*; contributing in addition numerous miscellaneous articles to the *Calcutta Review*, the *Asiatic Review*, and the *Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

IT was largely due to Mr. Beveridge, as Mr. Stephen Wheeler has pointed out in a letter to the *Times* of November 16, that the tomb of Rose Aylmer in the South Park Street cemetery was discovered and saved from complete destruction.

Writing in 1886, his friend Dr. Busteed owed his indebtedness to Mr. Beveridge for information that led after an arduous and at first fruitless search to the finding of the tomb in a cemetery no longer used. The monument was falling into ruins, the inscription scarcely legible. Public attention was called to the urgent need of measures to prevent further dilapidation. Since then everything possible has been done to preserve this interesting memento of the past.

The words of Walter Savage Landor's *Elegy* were placed on the tomb in 1909 at the suggestion of Dr. Busteed. The cost being defrayed by Lady Graves-Sawle ("Rose the Second", the daughter of Rose Aylmer's half-sister) Mr. Cecil Russell, a descendant of Sir Henry Russell, the Chief Justice and Colonel F. Aylmer. Landor appears, however, to have been under the altogether erroneous impression that four of the eight lines were

originally engraved on the tomb: for Mr. Wheeler informs the writer that he has seen a letter written by the poet a year or two before his death in 1864, in which the statement is made. The fact is that the five lines which were inscribed on the tomb at the time of its erection are taken from Young's *Night Thoughts*. The lines had become almost illegible, and Landor's informant, being unable to decipher them, came to a hasty conclusion.

WE are indebted to Mr. A. Cassells, I.C.S., for the following Note on the dates from which information about baptisms, marriages and burials (Church of Scotland) in Calcutta is known to be on record.

ON the 24th April, 1840, the Court of Directors of the East India Company wrote as follows to the Governor of Bengal:—

"In order to enable us to satisfy inquiries which are constantly made to us by parties in this Country, we desire that you furnish us with Copies of such Registers as may be in existence of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials performed by Ministers of the Church of Scotland at your Presidency, and that similar returns be in future sent to us quarterly in the same way as Registers of sacred offices performed by Clergymen of the Church of England are now forwarded." The request was passed on to the Reverend J. Charles, D.D., Senior Minister of St. Andrew's Church, who, in forwarding to the local Government extracts from the Baptismal and Marriage Registers kept in St. Andrew's Church at this Presidency, for transmission to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, wrote in September, 1840,—

"As no date was mentioned from which Copies of these Registers were ordered to be furnished, I directed the Session-Clerk to prepare them from the month of November, 1832, the period at which I entered on my duties as Chaplain to the Hon'ble Company, and to bring them down to the month of June last. No register on which entire reliance can be placed has hitherto been kept of the Burials performed in the Scotch Burying Ground, but measures have been adopted which will ensure its accuracy; and Copies of it as well as of the other two Registers will in future be regularly furnished to Government."

These copies duly reached the Directors, who wrote in May, 1841,—

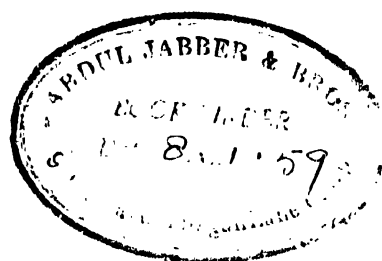
"Presuming that the earlier Registrations of the Scotch Church have been preserved at your Presidency we desire to be furnished with complete Copies from the earliest period to the end of the year 1840, duly certified to be true transcripts of the original Registers, and that they in future be forwarded to us quarterly."

The Reverend Dr. Charles, when forwarding Certified Copies of the Registers kept in St. Andrew's Church of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials between 1st January and 30th June, 1841, brought to notice that "the Register of Burials, which is at present kept at the Scotch Burial Ground,

is more complete than the one which is to be introduced from the 1st of January, 1842, as it includes notices of the place of Birth of the party interred, of the disease of which he died, and of the hour and day of his death, and thus furnishes more ample materials for the compilation of a Body of 'Medical Statistics'."

In October, 1841, he supplied duly certified transcripts of the Registers of Baptisms and Marriages kept in St. Andrew's Church and of the Register of Burials kept at the Scotch Burying Ground up to 1840, and added "that the Baptismal Register, of which an exact copy is herewith sent, commences in December, 1814, though from the blank spaces which occur in it (such as at Nos. 49, 62, 68, 69, and 72) it seems not to have been regularly kept for the first four or five years; and that the Marriage Register commences in March, 1816, though in it also the entries appear to have been irregularly made for the first three or four years."

Quarterly lists were thereafter sent regularly to Government and transmitted to the Court of Directors. Presumably, they are preserved in the India Office, the original registers being still in St. Andrew's Church.



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